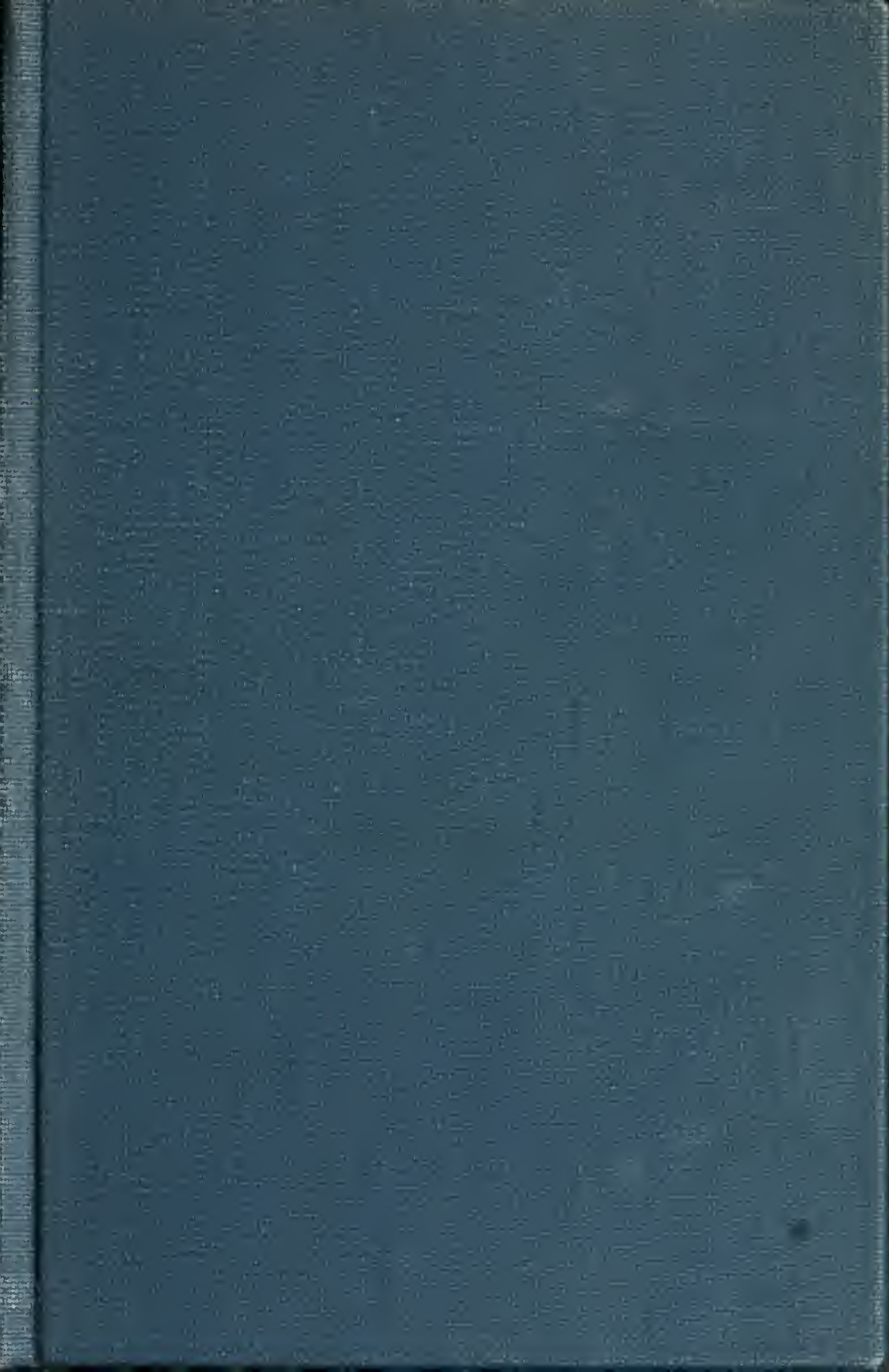






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CHARLES FORSTER SMITH, PH. D., Editor

Chairman of the Committee on Graduate Study

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OF THE
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BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE SERIES, VOL. 1, NO. 1, PP. 1-87.

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LITERATURE
FROM 1815 TO 1833

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERIODICALS

BY

WILLIAM B. CAIRNS, PH. D.

Instructor in Rhetoric in the University of Wisconsin

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF LAW AND WITH THE APPROVAL OF
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PREFACE.

The paper that follows is a preliminary contribution to the study of American literature from 1815 to 1833. Both the magnitude of the subject and the nature of the data that must be obtained, have made it impossible to attain even approximate completeness. The exact direction of the studies that have been pursued was determined partly by the nature of the subject, and partly by circumstances. Almost at the outset it was found that American magazines of the period under consideration are surprisingly numerous; and a little further research seemed to show that in them, rather than in published volumes, is to be found the most valuable material for the literary history of the time. The author soon found, also, that the library in which he must work—the collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin—while but fairly well equipped with books of the period, was, in respect to magazines, unequalled in the West, and probably unexcelled anywhere. For these two reasons, especial attention has been given to this class of publications. An attempt has been made to consider the social and economic conditions that had a bearing on the development of literature, but the writings of individual men have been touched but briefly or not at all. Even the list of periodicals given is of necessity incomplete. It is hoped that the publication of this paper may make easier the collection of additional data, and that it may possibly induce others to investigate some phases of literary development in America during the same period.

The author wishes to express his obligations to Prof. J. C. Freeman, under whose general supervision the study has been

carried on; to Prof. F. G. Hubbard, who has given many helpful suggestions throughout the progress of the work, and who has read both the manuscript and the proof-sheets; to Prof. F. J. Turner, whose suggestions regarding authorities and methods of work have proved invaluable; and to Mr. W. M. Smith, who has given sympathetic aid in various ways. Especial mention must be made of the uniform courtesies of the library staff of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, upon whose good nature the author feels that he has often imposed.

AMERICAN LITERATURE FROM 1815 TO 1833.

INTRODUCTORY.

When and where the literature of the American continent had its origin, is a question on which opinions have differed widely. Richardson conscientiously begins his history with a discussion of Indian war-chants. In Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's comprehensive work, as in several hand-books, the name of the picturesque Captain John Smith heads the list of American authors, and the patriotic citizen is congratulated on the fact that our literature sprang from the British at the time of Elizabethan greatness. Brander Matthews says:¹ "It would be possible to maintain the thesis that American literature began in 1809 with the publication of Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York*." And a recent article by Thomas Wentworth Higginson on *The Birth of a New Literature*² deals with the early days of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

A national literature is the expression of national tendencies; and before a first date is assigned, it is well to discover when these tendencies began to make themselves felt. Unfortunately, this is not an easy matter; tendencies grow, but they are never born. A conservation of energy seems to exist in the intellectual as well as in the physical world. Dormant forces are awakened; diffused impulses suddenly become concentrated; old movements change their direction; but only the superficial historian ventures to put his finger on a date and say, "At this moment some-

¹ Whitcomb Chronological Outlines of American Literature: Introduction, page ix

² Atlantic Monthly, April, 1897. Mr. Higginson parenthetically acknowledges the existence of Irving and Cooper.

thing new came into the intellectual life of the world." It is no doubt possible to find in the literature of today the effects of some influences that can be traced back to the time of the *True Relation*, if not to the earlier poets of the Choctaw and the Sioux. Classifications must, however, be made on broad grounds; and if we look at the subject comprehensively, we shall find that American writers of the 17th and 18th centuries did not bequeath much to their successors in the 19th. The close of the second war with Great Britain seems better than any other event to mark the date at which began a continuous and significant movement in American literature—a movement that has continued without real interruption to the present day.

Indeed, the historian seldom finds an epoch more distinctly marked than was that which began about 1815. This year saw the close of our war at home,¹ and the battle of Waterloo abroad. Both in America and in Europe circumstances favored a readjustment of conditions, political, economic, and literary. This was especially true in the United States, where the nation first really saw its destiny. Says Henry Adams:² "Until 1815, nothing in the future of the American Union was regarded as settled. As late as January, 1815, division into several nationalities was thought to be possible." And again:³ "In 1815 for the first time Americans ceased to doubt the path they were to follow. Not only was the unity of their nation established, but its probable divergence from older societies was also well defined."

It is the purpose of this study to trace the general course of literature in America from this critical date until another change in conditions occurred about the year 1833; to discover some of the forces that seem to have acted, and what were their results; to note some of the impulses that writers of this period transmitted to their successors; and perhaps incidentally to offer

¹ The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814, but the news was not received in this country until the opening of the new year. The battle of New Orleans was fought Jan. 8, 1815.

² History of the United States, ix., 219.

³ Ibid., ix., 220.

slight help toward the solution of the question whether there has yet been an American literature in any other than a geographical sense.

THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

The period just preceding 1815, which Prof. Matthews includes in the beginning years of our literature, was characterized by great bitterness of feeling, not only toward the common enemy, but between factions at home. Party spirit has rarely, if ever, run higher. The course of the government paralyzed commerce and touched the pockets of thousands of men. Naturally enough intense feelings were aroused, and even disruption of the union was openly spoken of, and no doubt wished by some.

Literature, if such it may be called, was mainly devoted to the cause of party, and was largely satirical. Bryant, a boy of thirteen, caught the spirit, and wrote *The Embargo*, an attack on the dominant party, which went through two editions in as many years. Fessenden produced his *Pills, Poetical, Political, and Philosophical*, the title of which is suggestive enough of its nature. Ingersoll wrote the *Iuchiquin Letters*, a satire on books by English travellers in America; and Paulding the *Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan*. Some genius was shown in all these works, and much facility of expression; but the reader of today can only feel that such talents as their authors had, were wasted for the sake of a few months' notoriety. A few writers who did exert some slight influence on their successors will be mentioned in another place.

TENDENCIES OF THE PERIOD—POLITICAL.

The most significant political fact at this time was the growth of the national idea. The treaty of peace and the battle of New Orleans had the effect of merging party discontents in a general feeling of national triumph. It was evident that with but scanty resources, and in spite of dissensions at home, the United States could at least hold her own against a powerful enemy.

Indeed, the theory that the war was a drawn contest seems hardly to have been thought of; all Americans regarded it as a decided victory, and all exulted in it. The old motto seemed to be reversed: in strength there was union, though there had been disunion when strength was most needed. The promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was one of the expressions of this sense of national power.

The years just after the war became known by the now famous name of "The Era of Good Feeling", but it must not be supposed that all political antipathies were laid aside. Some odium still attached to New England for its support of the Hartford Convention, and in parts of New England an especial odium attached to those who had taken part in it. Human nature was the same in those years as in others, and feuds and hostilities, though dormant, still existed. One reason that they did not show more plainly was that the interest in politics was less than ever before.

The natural reaction after great excitement was helped on by influences from abroad. The French craze of an earlier time had had its day, and Napoleon had disgusted many Americans who, in spite of hostilities, knew of Continental affairs largely through the English. After Waterloo nothing in the European situation obtruded itself on the Americans, commercially or otherwise. As a result, they were willing to let political theories take care of themselves. As Henry Adams pointedly says,¹ speaking of the difference between 1801 and 1815, "The Rights of Man occupied public thoughts less, and the price of cotton more." At the same time democracy, which had had its rise a few years earlier, was becoming a settled fact, rather than an aggressive theory.

ECONOMIC.

This feeling of national greatness must find expression in action. The war was over; political strife was laid aside by common consent: naturally, in a new and undeveloped country at-

¹ History of the United States, ix., 104.

tention turned to territorial and commercial expansion. At first some manufacturing industries that had been built up during the war were unable to compete with foreign rivals, but this quickly called forth inventions to cheapen the cost of production. Foreign immigrants were just beginning to come in large numbers.¹ In the east they tended to make the population more cosmopolitan, while in the west they aided in the development of new states. By 1821, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri had been admitted to the union, in the order named. As a natural consequence of the rapid territorial expansion, much attention was paid to means of travel.² Improvements in steam navigation were introduced, turnpikes were built, and attention turned to canals. The Erie canal was opened in 1825.

The completion of Stephenson's first locomotive is another event usually assigned to the year 1815, and the importance of the new invention was recognized in America fully as soon as in England. At first it was looked upon as of doubtful practical value, but a decade later it was attracting wide attention. The Quincy railroad (operated by horse power) was begun in 1825, and finished in 1826.³ The first locomotive was brought to the United States in 1828. The West soon saw what overland communication by steam meant for its future, and by 1830 the new mode of travel was a favorite theme of discussion as far west as civilization extended.⁴

As facilities for communication increased, the position of New York gave it a great commercial advantage. Its only rival

¹ "During the year 1817, 22,000 immigrants were reported as entering the United States. Twelve or fourteen thousand were probably Irish; four thousand were German. More than two thousand arrived in Boston, while about seven thousand landed in New York, and the same number in Philadelphia. The greater part probably remained near where they landed." Adams, *History of the United States*, ix., 161.

² For a statement of the relation between facilities for transportation and the continuance of the United States as one nation, see Adams, *History of the United States*, volume i., chapter i.

³ There seems to be some question about this date, though most chronologies agree on the one given. Johnson's *Encyclopedia* gives 1826 for the inception and 1827 for the completion of the road.

⁴ See several articles in volume i., of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, Vandalia, 1830.

to the northward, Boston, had lost heavily during the war. Moreover, all New England was suffering financially from the crippling of its manufactures, and politically from its attitude toward the Hartford Convention. To the southward, Philadelphia was the center of large interests, but seems always to have deserved a little of the reputation for drowsiness that has been given it by its rivals. The population of New York doubled immediately after the close of the war, while in the same time that of New England increased about one-third.

EDUCATIONAL.

It is well known that at an early time education received more attention in New England than in the colonies farther south. Massachusetts still held the pre-eminence;¹ but by this time facilities for gaining an education were good throughout the northern states, and most of the authors who will be mentioned later took advantage of their opportunities. Paulding said that his education "cost, first and last, about fifteen dollars—certainly quite as much as it was worth;"² but none of the writers who belong strictly to the period under consideration made such a boast. Most of them had good academic training, and many attended college, even if they did not graduate.³

Academies were generally within reach of any well-to-do farmer, and most of the important New England colleges of today were already in existence. Even the West offered opportunities for higher study.⁴ The expense of a col-

¹ In 1828 it was estimated that Massachusetts had one student in college for every 1,103 inhabitants; Connecticut, one for every 1,244; Vermont, one for 1,891; New Hampshire, one for 2,114; Rhode Island, one for 2,636; Maine, one for 3,260. *American Quarterly Register*, i., 106.

² Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, 133.

³ Bryant did not complete his course at Williams, on account of lack of means. Cooper was "dismissed" from Yale, and Dana expelled from Harvard. Lounsbury, *Life of Cooper*, 8; Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, 184.

⁴ The most prominent colleges and universities in existence before 1815 were: Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Middlebury, University of Vermont, Williams, Harvard, Brown, Yale, Columbia, Union, Hamilton, Rutgers, Pennsylvania, and Princeton; also, in the south, South Carolina College, William and Mary, Charleston College, University of Georgia,

lege education was not great, even allowing for the difference in the value of money. In 1831 the estimated cost of a year at the various colleges, as given in the catalogues, was as follows: Harvard, \$179; Yale, \$140 to \$190; Dartmouth, \$101.22; Williams, \$79.50 to \$104.75; Waterville, \$84; Middlebury, \$86; Amherst, \$93 to \$118; Hamilton, \$72 to \$100; University of Pennsylvania, \$180 to \$201; Brown about \$120. Board is listed at from \$1 to \$1.75 a week, except at the University of Pennsylvania, where it is put at \$2.50 to \$3. Several colleges offered opportunities for students to pay their way wholly or partly; students intending to enter the ministry were aided by various societies.¹

Except in the classics, the standard of the best colleges was much lower than it is today. The preparatory studies for Harvard in 1829 were: Latin and Greek grammar, including prosody, Greek reader, four gospels, Virgil, Sallust, Cicero's Select Orations, arithmetic, algebra to the end of simple equations, geography. Arithmetic was regularly a freshman study. By this time short courses in the natural sciences had been introduced. Transylvania required Constitution of the United States in the senior year.²

English literature was not studied under this name, but much time was given to rhetoric and the "elements of criticism." Students probably read far more literature than they do today. Modern languages were included in the curricula of some colleges, and in most there were probably opportunities for pursuing them.

University of North Carolina, and St. Mary's at Baltimore. Between 1815 and 1833 were founded Waterville, Amherst, Alleghany, University of Virginia, and Columbian at Washington. In 1830 Harvard had 16 instructors and 247 undergraduates; Yale 14 instructors and 359 undergraduates.

The American Quarterly Register, iii., 127, publishes a Review of Literary Institutions in the Mississippi Valley in 1830. Twenty-eight institutions are mentioned, having at this time 766 graduates, 1,430 undergraduates, and 38,666 volumes in their libraries. The most prosperous was Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., with 300 students.

¹American Quarterly Register, iii., 298. See also other numbers of this journal, which is a mine of information on the state of education from 1827 to 1832.

²For a comparative statement of courses of study and requirements for entrance to the leading colleges in 1829, see American Quarterly Register, i., 228.

RELIGIOUS.

It seemed a natural concomitant of the establishment of democracy that the Calvinistic theology, which had so long held sway in New England, should lose its power. At first the liberal movement was slow, and its course hard to trace. Preachers simply avoided subjects on which their views were not in accord with tradition. A minister could not plausibly be accused of heterodoxy on account of what he did not say, and although there were rumors of heresies, nothing on the surface showed the great change that was taking place in religious thought. The open break between the Unitarians and the Congregationalists came in 1815. In June of this eventful year *The Panoplist* charged the followers of the new faith with concealing their real position for unfair purposes, and called upon the church to refuse them communion. Channing replied in a published letter to Rev. Samuel Thatcher, and the battle was on. It was found that the liberal party had gained control of Harvard College—its opponents claimed by underhand means. The charge of stealing a college was a novel one, but it was freely made and indignantly denied. The religious periodicals of the day present both sides of the case at great length.

Out of this controversy between the old theology and the new came a great mass of writings which, no doubt, had many eager readers at the time; but they deal either with personalities or with dry doctrinal points, and though characterized by wit and learning, lack the interest possessed by the Transcendental speculations of a few years later. Only in the broadest sense of the word can they be called literature. The movement is interesting to the student of literary history mainly for two reasons: it absorbed the energies of many men who might otherwise have excelled in different lines—notably Wm. E. Channing, the elder; and the freedom of thought to which it led had a great influence on the writings of the Boston and Concord men of a generation later.

Internal dissensions were not confined to the Congregation-

alists. The Quakers also had a controversy between the conservatives and the liberals within their ranks. This, too, was the time of the Campbellites, and of other peculiar sects that had their rise toward the west. The rapid growth of the missionary movement and of Sunday schools was characteristic of the period.

MORAL.

Writers seldom comment fairly on contemporary manners and morals; these subjects are mentioned only for censure or for self-congratulation. Accordingly, pictures of American society at the time under consideration are rather confusing. English travellers were mostly hostile to America, and exaggerated such faults as they found. On the other hand, Americans had no hesitation in saying of themselves that they were the most courteous and most moral people on earth.

Among the minor offenses against good taste charged by British travellers, the most prominent were the chewing of tobacco and the impertinent questioning of strangers. There is no doubt that the strictures on the former offense were largely deserved. The habit of asking questions was characteristic of the West, and, however annoying it might be to a dignified English tourist, it was entirely natural. The chief way of getting information as to the doings of the world was still by oral communication, and no intelligent man situated as was the American pioneer could be expected to refrain from asking questions of the few strangers that came in his way. The charge that the Yankees were tricky and dishonest in business transactions very likely had some basis in the world-wide feeling that a tourist is fair game; and in some parts of the country there was probably something of an idea that business was a test of wits, and that the ability to hood-wink a customer gave a sort of right to do so. In many communities the same feeling still holds among schoolboys with regard to "swapping" knives, and among their elders with regard to trading horses. In spite of all that

was said of Yankee tricks, there are few reported cases of serious swindling.

The temperance agitation had begun, but drinking was indulged in to an extent that would now be called excess. It was quite the proper thing for a young man to be "convivial." In the set to which Irving belonged in his early days, "It was scarcely good manners not to get a little tipsy; and to be laid under the table by the compulsory bumper was not to the discredit of a guest."¹

Concerning the prevalence of more serious vices, it is hard to speak with certainty; but they were probably indulged in far less than they are today. Divorces were fewer; and the press gives hints of fewer scandals. Comments on French society and on some of Byron's poems also show, in an indirect way, that the people were not thoroughly familiar with vice. Indeed, one can hardly read the minor literature of the time without feeling that a large part of would-be fashionable society was in the position of the college freshman who wants to be dissipated and doesn't know how.

One peculiarity of the time was the great number of references, in the abstract, to seduction. These are found everywhere, and especially in ladies' magazines and periodicals that give the lighter literature. The first inference might be that the practice condemned was everywhere common; but the very unreality of tone in most of the articles on the subject shows that this could not have been the case.² It seems rather to be a

¹ Warner, *Life of Irving* (American Men of Letters Series), 44.

² The following specimen from the *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, i., 22, (August, 1823), is perhaps worth quoting, punctuation marks and all.

SEDUCTION.

"No dews give freshness to *this* blasted soil."

The golden god of day had sunk with his brilliant chariot in the west, and left the world to Cynthia and the glittering lamps of heaven—the tongue of time had spoken ten—oppressed with unusual sorrow I sought the romantic windings of the Hudson. All nature seemed to slumber, and naught was heard save the wild humming from the grove and the murmuring of the stream, which was gently undulated by the passing zephyr. I had not wandered far, when methought I heard the sound of hopeless misery. I paused—they were the wild and desolate breathings of a lonely and distracted woman! I approached with feelings of sacred compassion, and beheld what once an angel's form

survival, in literature only, of the earlier tradition that a woman's virtue was entirely at the mercy of any designing man of pleasing address. This probably came down from English writers of the 17th and 18th centuries through Charles Brockden Brown and others. It is fully as foreign to the time and place as are references to "the inconstant fair" and extravaganzas of mistress-worship—with which it is often found.

Fashions change as to what is permissible and what indelicate in writing and speech; and the literature of this period according to present views, is sometimes coarse and sometimes prudish. One reviewer¹ objects to the *Stout Gentleman* in *Brace-bridge Hall* because the affair with the chambermaid is indelicate. On the other hand many passages which Irving wrote, that today could be described only by the word coarse, evidently seemed perfectly proper.

In the country, and on the frontier, there probably existed the same conditions that exist among our rural population to-day—comparative purity of life, often accompanied by coarseness of speech and actions. In the cities there was still some of the old time gallantry. It was said to be possible for a woman to travel by stage-coach, unattended, throughout the country, without fear of annoyance.

had been. She was reclining on the trunk of an aged tree, and supporting with a hand of snow a brain of fire. I could not, did not, disturb her—I felt an awe and veneration which none can dream of. Not far behind her stood a solitary willow, under whose drooping branches I found concealment,—here I observed her and listened to the thrilling tones of a voice, sweet and heavenly as the music of a seraph * * * she sang of love, of treachery, and of cruel inconstant man, and a deep melancholy flowed through every line—she tore a portrait from her bosom—kissed it—and placed it there again;—then with a shriek she rose and wept—tear followed tear adown the cheek where roses once had bloomed—her lily hands she mingled with her jetty hair—she plucked it and gave it to the winds, which seemed to sigh and moan, as lamenting the fall of virtue—and then with fleetness that bid defiance to the rein-deer's speed, she ascended a rugged, barren cliff, whose towering top frowned upon the bubbling stream below—prostrate she knelt before the Throne of Mercy, and breathed a prayer in all the agony of a broken heart—then, rising from her humble posture, she rushed into the gulf beneath—a groan—a struggle—silence reigned—SHE DIED! THE VICTIM OF SEDUCTION!! * * *

GEORGE.

For other articles on the same subject, and in much the same strain see *Rural Repository*, Hudson, N. Y., i., 22, (June, 1824); *Ladies' Magazine*, Savannah, i., 4 (February, 1819); and many other periodicals of about this time.

¹ *Literary and Scientific Repository*, iv., 422.

OTHER TENDENCIES.

Few things are harder to imagine than the conditions of an age that differs from our own. The task is especially hard in case of a period that was in some respects so modern, and in some so far removed from the life of today. It is hard to put ourselves in the places of men who read most of the best literature that we read, who lived under the same government, discussed the same political questions, and thought many of the same thoughts, but who had no railroads, no telegraphs, none of the modern conveniences without which it seems as if we could not exist. Even the absence of electric, gas, and kerosene lights would seem to us almost an insurmountable obstacle in the way of pursuing literary studies.

Books, while in one way and another within the reach of most, were comparatively scarce. Not many were published in the United States, and before the war commercial restrictions made it difficult to import.¹ This state of affairs of course changed to some extent during this period. American publishers found it profitable to issue editions of English works, which they could reprint without paying royalty;² and in time many works by American authors were undertaken. Still, reading matter was so rare that there was an incentive to master a good book.

Somewhat strangely, the fine arts in America were in a flourishing condition. Washington Allston, a brother-in-law of Dana, a man who seems to have fascinated every one who met him, won fame as a painter both at home and abroad. S. F. B. Morse, later the inventor of the telegraph, was prominent in New York art circles, as were Inman and many others.

In music, little had been produced on this side the water. The old-fashioned tunes were still played at rural dances. Imme-

¹ Ticknor, *Life of Prescott*, 9; quoted by Godwin.

² S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections*, ii., 110, says, speaking of the period before 1820: "The successful booksellers of the country — Carey, Small, Thomas, Warner, of Philadelphia; Campbell, Duyckinck, Reed, Kirk & Mercein, Whiting & Watson, of New York; Beers & Howe, of New Haven; O. D. Cooke, of Hartford; West & Richardson, Cummings & Hilliard, R. P. & C. Williams, S. T. Armstrong, of Boston — were for the most part the mere reproducers and sellers of English books."

diately after the war martial airs were of course popular, and both commercial and naval interests gave vogue to songs of the sea. In polite circles the fashionably correct thing seems to have been to sing the songs of Burns and Moore, with their countless imitations.¹

FOREIGN INFLUENCES—ENGLISH.

It has already been said that at this time there was little connection between European and American politics; but in the field of letters the influence of the old world was more marked. The state of English literature was such as to prove an inspiration. Notable publications by Byron, Wordsworth, and Scott bear the date 1815.² Not only these men, but Coleridge, Keats, Moore, Maria Edgeworth, Miss Austin, Hallam, Hazlitt, and many others were producing some of their best work about this time. At no other period since the Elizabethan age had English writers been better fitted to exercise strong influence, and on the whole influence for good, upon their contemporaries.

The two ideas for which the most prominent of these English writers stood were democracy and love of nature. It was natural that the expression of either of these should be responsively met in America. The bold, free romances of Scott, both in verse and in prose, appealed to a people who knew, by direct acquaintance or close tradition, such picturesque characters as the savage and the backwoodsman, and whose attention had been called by a recent war to the heroic deeds of their ancestors in colonial and revolutionary times. The poems were perhaps more enthusiastically received in America than in England. Young ladies could repeat the whole of *The Lady of the Lake* from memory. Every versifier attempted the octo-syllabic measure; even Bryant, at an early age, began an Indian narrative

¹ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 14, gives the following list of music popular in the boyhood of the poet; The Battle of Prague, Governor Brooks's March, Washington's March, Henry's Cottage Maid, Brignal's Banks, Bonnie Doon, The Last Rose of Summer, Oft in the Stilly Night, Money Musk, Fisher's Hornpipe, The Hay-makers.

² Byron, *Hebrew Melodies*; Scott, *Lord of the Isles*, *Guy Mannering*; Wordsworth, *The White Doe of Rylstone*, *Poems*.

after the manner of Scott.¹ Similar results followed the publication of the novels. Not only Cooper, but a host of lesser prose writers, were disciples of the author of *Waverley*.

The influence of Wordsworth is not easy to trace. He is quoted more widely than any other living poet except Byron, and is often referred to in an appreciative way by American writers. The exact form that this appreciation took, however, was not altogether such as would have been pleasing to Wordsworth. One of the most thorough reviews of the time² patronizes the *Lyrical Ballads*, which are said to have succeeded in spite of "their grossness, their childishness, and their vanity"; gives high praise to *The Excursion* and other blank verse poems, and seems to consider Wordsworth best when he is drawing most inspiration from Milton. There were readers, however, who appreciated the *Lyrical Ballads*. Bryant said "that upon opening the book a thousand springs seemed to gush up at once in his heart, and the face of Nature, of a sudden, to change into a strange freshness and life."³ Still, it is doubtful if Wordsworth was widely read. As late as 1834 the *American Quarterly Observer*⁴ complains; "Just consider the estimation in which Wordsworth is regarded in this country. A small edition of his select poems was published in Boston in 1824, in beautiful style, and yet a considerable portion of the edition is unsold. In these ten years, what scores of the volumes of Mrs. Hemans,

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 141.

² *Atlantic Magazine*, New York, ii., 334 and 419 (1825). The reviewer says: "The *Excursion* * * * contains within its compass more pure and manly poetry, more beautiful embodying of pure and noble thoughts, more definite revealing of the secret influences which so wonderfully sway our complicated being, than can be found in almost any other poem since the great English Epic was given to the world. Most seriously and most painfully do we regret that an obstinate and petulant adherence to the mere form and shadow of a theory, utterly unworthy of the noble mind of Wordsworth, still desecrates, by its intrusion, the sacred structure that he has reared for immortality."

"Yet nothing can be easier than the removal of this blot. The change of the word Pedlar as often as it occurs (we believe it occurs but once) to any other of the appellations of the old man, the Itinerant, the Traveller, the Wanderer, or the Solitary,—the erasure of some half a dozen lines, and the alteration of as many more,—would obviate the very reasonable complaint of those in whose minds the name of Pedlar is inseparably associated with base uses and vulgar recollections."

³ Richard H. Dana; quoted by Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 104.

⁴ July, 1834; page 147.

of Scott, Byron, and Pope have been scattered abroad." It is impossible, however, to estimate the influence of an author by the number of volumes sold. The truth probably is that Wordsworth was a "poet's poet"; that no living Englishman had a stronger hold on those American writers who themselves had the strongest hold on their own countrymen; but that his works were far less read by the masses than were those of Byron.

This was perfectly natural. Wordsworth's appreciation of nature was too subtle to be fully understood by the man of affairs. Byron loved nature too, but he loved her most in her grander manifestations,—the ocean and the storm; and he expressed his feelings in a form that could be understood by the American sailor or the American backwoodsman. His democracy, too, was of a freer, more aggressive sort than was Wordsworth's, and approached nearer to the spirit of the American pioneer.

As might be expected, Byron found eager readers, perhaps his most eager readers, in the West. The pioneers saw nature as he saw it, and they regarded the rights of man much as he regarded them. Still, they could not commend, or even excuse his morals. The backwoodsmen were not Puritans, who took pleasure in repressing passions and desires, but rather men whose passions and desires were so natural and whose habits of life were by necessity so restricted, that they could scarcely understand a life given over to cynical vice.¹

The reviews of Byron's works in American magazines and the remarks on his death from press and pulpit are an interesting study. The religious journals treated the poet, as they do to the present day, with patronizing pity. The tone of criticism in the distinctively literary reviews was determined largely by the attitude of the editor toward England and English writers. Byron was the most popular English writer of the hour; his character and some things in his writings were clearly open to

¹ See a very interesting series of articles on The Character of Lord Byron, signed R. N., in the Cincinnati Literary Gazette for 1825. There are many other notes on Byron and his work throughout this volume. See also a review of Don Juan in the Western Review, ii., 1.

severe criticism; so that praise or blame might be given as desired. One writer says, reviewing *Marino Faliero*:¹ "Nor can any lover of poetry, or admirer of genius fail to welcome the productions of that great poet, whose writings have given such a high character to the genius of the age, as to establish its equal claim to the homage of mankind, with that of any period of time that has preceded it, and which, moreover, has so often and strongly moved the deepest sympathies of our hearts." Another,² discussing the *Lament of Tasso*, makes free use of such terms as "gross," "despicable," "base," "heinous," "lies," condemns the poem as utterly worthless—and prints it in full. The great majority of the comments on the poems, however, were free in their phrases.³ The popular enthusiasm was greater than that of the reviews; and the ascendancy of the Byronic verse was much more lasting and marked than that of Scott's octosyllables. Americans not only wrote Byronic poetry of their own but remodeled that of the poet. Edwin C. Holland, Esq., of Charleston, changed the *Corsair* into a blank verse melodrama in four acts, arranged for the stage. The story and the original diction were preserved as far as possible.⁴

Byron, Scott, and Wordsworth were the three English writers whose influence on the best of American letters was most noticeable. But many readers who believed themselves possessed of literary tastes and abilities found more pleasure in other poets. Chief among these were Moore and Mrs. Hemans. Both were recipients of extravagant praise;⁵ from them

¹ Ladies' Literary Cabinet, iv., 25 (New York, 1821).

² American Monthly Magazine and Review, i., 422 (New York, Oct., 1817). This magazine was one of the most bitter in its opposition to everything English.

³ Articles are to be found in North American Review, v., 98 and xx., 1; Christian Monthly Spectator, vii., 450; Analectic Magazine, iii., 334, and iv., 68; United States Literary Gazette, i., 54; and Literary and Scientific Repository, iii., 91.

⁴ For a review and extracts see American Monthly Magazine and Review, iii., 88.

⁵ In the Ladies Literary Cabinet, iv., 195 (1821), is a typical review of Lalla Rookh. A few sentences will serve as an example: "Among the minor poets of the present day, a decided preeminence must certainly be given to Thomas Moore." "It must be allowed that the greater number of productions which first appeared from his pen, under the name of Thomas Little, Esq., are a disgrace to a sublime genius. We are happy, however, to learn, that he now condemns many of his former pieces, and is at present a virtuous and exemplary character, practicing the virtues and enjoying the delights of con-

doubtless came much of the tendency to be sentimental that is noticeable in America even to the days of the *Atlantic Monthly*—a tendency often referred erroneously to the Knickerbocker school.

Great as were living British authors at this time, it was not their writings alone that influenced American letters. Indeed, Americans seem to have viewed English literature from Chaucer to Wordsworth as a unit; and in accordance with an eclectic tendency, to have chosen what seemed best, without regard to the age or party by which it was produced.

In the early years of this century a battle was being fought both in England and on the Continent, between two schools of literature. The contest was so fierce that an Englishman of literary tastes found it hard to keep from arraying himself on one side or the other. At a greater distance, an American could well admit the merits, and also the defects, of both Pope and Wordsworth. The works of both were English literature to him and he judged them with an impartiality perhaps fully as great as that with which they are looked upon today. In the libraries of the older families of the eastern states the eighteenth century writers held a prominent place.¹ They had constituted

nubial felicity." "Among the poems which have appeared in the present age, there is not one in which is contained so large a quantity of varied, rich, romantic, sweet, voluptuous and sublime poetry, as is found in this volume." Among other superlative expressions in the collection are "inspired," "sublime imagination," "the richest elegance of romantic poetry," etc. The article is signed "Violanthe."

The following sentences are from a review of the fifth American edition of Mrs. Hemans' works, in the *Critic*, New York, Dec., 1828, page 86: "The language of encomiastic hyperbole connected with her name becomes only the simple language of truth." "The mind of this exalted woman is as much beyond those of the rest of her sex in point of cultivation, as it is in point of natural vigour and capacity." "The reader who can peruse her productions without acknowledging them rich in all the best and highest essentials of poetry, has no taste."

The significant thing about this criticism is that it evidently expressed the views of a large part of the reading public.

¹ Catalogues of these libraries are not so easily accessible as might be desired. The following books are said to have been in the library of Bryant's father (Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 59): "Hume, Gibbon, Rollin, Russell, Gillies, Plutarch, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Akenside, Goldsmith, Thompson, Burns, Cowper, Beattie, Falconer, Campbell (Pleasures of Hope), Hogg, Montgomery, Rogers, Scott (Lord of the Isles), Byron (Lara, Bride of Abydos, and Corsair), Southey (Thalaba and Minor Poems), and Wordsworth (Lyrical Ballads), and in other departments, Burke, Chester

the chief reading of those colonial gentlemen who, whether Tories or rebels in the final struggle, had prided themselves on keeping in touch with all that was best in the culture of the mother country. But the works of the newer school came into these libraries, and the young men read all, and to a certain extent patterned after all. The difference must have been felt; but in the absence of the numerous critical works with which we are familiar, it is doubtful whether it was so clearly recognized as it is today. The Addisonian sketches of Irving and the ultra-romantic novels of Cooper were admired by the same readers. The Croaker papers were in the vein of the lighter

field, the *Spectator*, Fielding, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Adam Clark's *Travels*, Park's *Travels*, Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, and Sismondi's *Literature of the South of Europe*. Besides the greater masters, Mr. Cullen Bryant tells us there were Sanford and Merton, and Little Jack; there were Robinson Crusoe, with its variations, *The Swiss Family Robinson* and *The New Robinson Crusoe*; there were a Mrs. Trimmer's *Knowledge of Nature*, and Berquin's lively narratives and sketches translated from the French; there were Philip Quarll and Watt's *Poems for Children*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Mrs. Barbauld's writings. Later we had Mrs. Edgeworth's *Parent's Assistant* and *Evenings at Home*."

The Longfellow library contained (S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 11); Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Dryden, Thompson, Goldsmith, *The Spectator*, *The Rambler*, *The Lives of the Poets*, *Rasselas*, *Plutarch's Lives*; Hume's, Gibbon's, Gillie's, and Robertson's *Histories*; Hannah Moore's *Works*; Cowper, Moore, Robinson Crusoe, the *Arabian Nights*, *Don Quixote*, and *Ossian*. The *Pilgrim's Progress* was not there.

In the catalogue of Fitz-Greene Halleck's private library, sold at auction in 1868, are listed the following editions bearing date before 1820. (The length of time that they had been in the poet's possession is of course not known.) Thos. Campbell's *Poems*, Coleridge's *Poems*, Goethe's *Faust*, Moore's *Poems*, *Ossian*, Shakespeare's *Works*, Shensstone's *Poems*, Thompson's *Poetical Works*, *Remains of H. K. White*.

Among the books that Halleck bought earliest were Campbell, Burns, and Addison's *Spectator*. (Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 251.)

The Bryant list of course contains many books that must have been added to the collection at a comparatively late date. In this connection it is interesting to note the following list of books, recommended by Bryant to a fellow student in 1810. He had read them all before he entered Williams College at the age of 16. (Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 430, note.) The list is: Addison's *Prose Writings*, Bolingbroke's *Reflections in Exile*, Goldsmith's *Writings*, Johnson's *Idler*, *Rambler*, and *Adventurer*; Smith's *Longinus*; Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*; Alison on *Taste*; Johnson's *Preface to Shakespeare*; Burke's *Writings*; Pope's *Prefaces to Shakespeare and Homer*; Erskine's *Speeches*; Chapman's *Select Speeches*; *Travels of Anacharsis*; Langhorne's *Plutarch*; Fisher Ames' *Speeches*; Cumberland's *Memoirs*; Reid's *Inquiry*; Stewart's *Philosophy*; Aikin's *Letters*; *Life of Sir William Jones*.

At this time it was very usual to begin, or rather preface, a poem or a prose article with a quotation from some author. In the *Idle Man* (1824), and his earliest volume of poems, Dana uses in this way quotations from Crabbe, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Young, Davies, Byron, Cowper, and Sir Thomas Browne.

verse of the 18th century; but *Marco Bozzaris* and some of Halleck's other best work is Byronic.

It must not be inferred that the American critics did not see that there were two schools, the old and the new; but rather that they did not feel them to be so far antagonistic that one must be followed at the cost of ignoring the other. The following extract from a review of *Don Juan* in the *Western Review*¹ expresses the general sentiment. The fact that this is the utterance of the pioneer Western magazine is significant.

"We are not enemies, but are admirers of Pope, and take unceasing pleasure in reading his numbers. . . . But we are not *exclusive* in our admiration of this regular, smooth and well-balanced verse. We confess that we are entertained, instructed, and charmed with some of the poets of the NEW SCHOOL. We see in this school excesses, defects, and many abuses, but also great merits."

It seems a little strange that Coleridge should have had so slight an apparent influence on American literature at this time. He was known of course, but he is seldom quoted, and there seems to be little to show that he was recognized as one of the strong minds of the age.

The reasons for this are not clear; but one may lie in the attitude of the American mind toward philosophy. That the Americans had the power of abstract thought in a high degree is shown not only by the writings of men like Jonathan Edwards, but by the fact that laymen followed and seemed to enjoy sermons on the most abstruse theological points.² But this was at an earlier time, and with the development of the bustling commercial spirit there was a decline of interest in things that had no obvious value in dollars and cents. The taste for abstract thought remained among the clergy; but the clergy were not writing much of general interest.

The matter-of-fact turn of the western mind also prevented appreciation of Coleridge's more imaginative works. The reader

¹ Volume ii., page 6, Lexington, Ky., 1820. Italics and capitals those of the original.

² See Tyler, *History of American Literature*, i., Chaps. v. and vii.

who felt that the story of *Rip Van Winkle* was spoiled because the twenty years' sleep was not scientifically accounted for,¹ could hardly be expected to enjoy *Christabel* or even the *Ancient Mariner*.²

These theories regarding Coleridge's slight hold on America are only tentative. It is possible, also, that his influence was stronger than is here supposed. Many critics tacitly assume that he was a great force in America at this time; it seems natural that he should have been, and perhaps he was; but, strangely enough, few facts come to light to show it.³

CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE.

If Coleridge, the apostle of German thought, accomplished little in America, it is perhaps less remarkable that Germany should accomplish little. Yet the critic is so accustomed to think of the strong German influence a few years later, that he is surprised to find that it does not exist at this period in the same degree.

In a recent article,⁴ Thomas Wentworth Higginson speaks

¹ See a review in the *Western Review*, ii., 244.

² The *Atlantic Magazine*, ii., 334, speaks of the *Ancient Mariner* as nonsense. Among the stanzas quoted in support of this view are some of those most commonly admired.

³ American reviews of Coleridge's works are not very numerous. The *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, ii., 105 (Dec., 1817), condemns the style of the *Biographia Literaria* as ungrammatical, and his philosophy as entirely unintelligible; but praises his taste with regard to the classics, and his feeling toward Southey. The reviewer continues: "As this biography is professed to be designed as an introduction to Mr. Coleridge's *Sybilline Leaves*, we were at pains to procure a copy of that work, but after a slight experiment gave up the idea of reading it." This article is signed "E."

The same journal, i., 12, copies notes of *Christabel*, *Kubla Khan*, etc., from the British reviews, with an introduction beginning: "We have copied the following article . . . not so much on account of the importance of the piece which it professes to treat, (which is, indeed, too contemptible to have arrested attention, had not some degree of credit been, heretofore, attached to the name of Mr. Coleridge,) as for the justness of its general criticisms. It is time for the professed guardians of morals and arbiters of taste, to interpose the authority with which they are invested, to shield the one, and to rescue the other, from the rude attacks of a wantonness of innovation that has attempted the violation of both."

In the *Cincinnati Literary Gazette* a little note from Count de Soligny on Coleridge as a Talker is given "As an offset to some of the ill-natured witticisms to which this 'singularly wild and original' genius has been subjected." In the same issue, Genevieve is given as "a favorable specimen of Mr. Coleridge's poetical powers."

⁴ *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1897, page 496.

of "the current of thought which between 1816 and 1818 took our whole American educational system away from the English tradition, and substituted the German methods." This change Mr. Higginson places to the credit of four men, Cogswell, Everett, Ticknor, and Bancroft. Ticknor and Everett went to Goettingen in 1815, Cogswell in 1816, Bancroft in 1818. None of them was back in this country before 1818. These enthusiastic young men were no doubt strongly imbued with the German idea; but they were young men, and their influence, while relatively greater than that of an equal number of graduate students today, was by no means sufficient to revolutionize American education in a year or two—certainly not before they returned to this country. Mr. Higginson's dates are too early, or his statement is far too inclusive.

As a matter of fact, the literature of this period shows relatively few quotations from German authors, or references to German ideas. The language was little studied. Some of the magazines contain original verses in French and Italian, but none in German. Editors printed versions of German poems and essays which they were not ashamed to admit were retranslations from the French. Henry Adams says:¹ "Germany was nearly as unknown as China, until Madame de Staël published her famous work in 1814. Even then young George Ticknor, incited by its account of German university education, could find neither a good teacher, nor a dictionary, nor a German book in the shops or the public libraries of the city or at the college in Cambridge." Again:² "Pennsylvania was largely German, and the Moravians were not without learning, yet no trace of German influence showed itself in the educated and literary class. Schiller was at the end of his career, and Goethe at the zenith of his powers; but neither was known in Pennsylvania, unless it might be by translations of the 'Robbers' or the 'Sorrows of Werther.'" Biographers of Emerson convey the impression that while at Harvard he was much influenced by Tick-

¹ History of the United States, i., 94. In the catalogue of Halleck's private library is listed Goethe's *Faust*, Boston, 1806; but this may have been a translation.

² *Ibid.*, i., 123. This statement applies to the time about 1800.

nor and Everett; yet in 1824, after he had left college, he wrote to his brother:¹ "Say particularly whether German and Hebrew be worth reading; for though I hate to study them, cordially, I yet will, the moment I can count my gains." Emerson does not seem really to have got into German until about 1829.²

The itineraries of European travelers show the same disregard of Germany. As late as 1826-7, when Longfellow went abroad to fit himself for the professorship of modern languages at Bowdoin, he spent 8 months in France, 8 in Spain, 13 in Italy, and 5 in Germany, visiting the countries in the order named. It is true that he wished to spend a few weeks more in Goettingen, but even had his stay been as long as he planned it, it would not have equalled that in Spain.³ When we remember the purpose of his visit to Europe, and the hold that Germany had on him when, a few years later, he was writing *Outre Mer* and *Hyperion*, these figures are suggestive.

Bryant made his first trip abroad in 1834, just after the close of the period under consideration. His "original intention had been to spend his time chiefly in Spain, by the language and literature of which he was singularly fascinated; but that country was in the midst of one of its chronic convulsions, and he turned his face towards Italy."⁴ He passed a much longer time in France and Italy than in Germany, and the only German cities that he visited were Munich and Heidelberg, the latter, in an intellectual way, probably the most cosmopolitan in the country.

Irving's devotion to Spain needs no mention. The example of these men is valuable, because we know their characters, and can allow for any personal bias. Their interests and routes of travel do not seem to have differed much from those of the majority of their countrymen who visited the continent in those years.

¹ Cabot, *Life of Emerson*, i., 109.

² *Ibid.*, i., 160.

³ S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, Vol. i., Chaps. vii. to xi. inclusive.

⁴ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 303.

A few theories may be hazarded as to the preponderance of southern influence over German. In the first place, there was the old political sympathy with France, which naturally led to an interest in the French language and literature. France was most closely connected, both geographically and linguistically, with the southern countries. In the second place, the study of the classics tended then as now, and more strongly then than now, to make every tourist seek Rome, and incidentally the other parts of Italy. In the third place, Irving's interest in Spain during the latter part of the period, drew the attention of students to that country. To his influence was no doubt due much of the fascination that its language and literature had for Bryant. Again, the condition of Germany itself was not such as to attract students. There was no center, no head; the many small independent states were moved against each other by petty jealousies.

Finally, the American mind did not seem quite capable of understanding the German. It was not that the Americans were dull, or shallow, or prosaic; but that from their nature, and their experience, or lack of experience,¹ they were incapable of feeling what lay at the bottom of the German movement of this time. Nothing indicates this much better than Halleck's remark that Goethe's *Faust* was "The worst book, in the strongest sense of the word worst, that I have ever read through."²

THE CLASSICS.

It has been said that the classics drew attention to Italy. They also had direct influence on literature. Greek and Latin were still looked upon as the basis of a liberal education. Almost every man who made pretensions to culture read them with greater or less ease. The importance of the natural sciences was being recognized, but they were not yet present in the college curriculum to any extent. So long as this was the case, the old notion of culture was bound to stand, in spite of occasional

¹ See page 10.

² Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 266.

protests from men who could not see the money value in dead languages.

PREVIOUS LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS IN AMERICA.

Although American literature as a connected national development began after the close of the war of 1812, there was already a great mass of American writings, extending from the earliest settlements to the time of the war itself. That the study of these attempts is not entirely uninteresting will be admitted by any one who has read Prof. Tyler's volumes. Still, the student of today finds the subject, though fascinating in the selections and comments of Prof. Tyler, dreary enough in the original documents; and so the readers of an earlier day found it. There were some who felt called upon to worship everything American for purely geographical reasons; but the more discriminating saw that little was to be gained from the native authors who had gone before.

Of the colonial writers, none had much influence. Jonathan Edwards was of course read by theologians, but his writings can hardly be classed as general literature.¹ Anne Bradstreet is more interesting as the ancestor of Dana, Channing, Holmes, and Wendell Phillips than as a poet.² Franklin was indeed read, and exercised a good deal of influence, especially in his own city; and Franklin was a writer of no small literary abilities. Still, his popularity was due largely to his labors in behalf of his country, his interest in scientific matters, and the common-sense practicality of his maxims, which appealed to the shrewd commercial instincts of his countrymen. Franklin's life, by Werner, and the first genuine edition of his works, edited by Temple Franklin, appeared in 1817.³

Charles Brockden Brown, also a Philadelphian, was the first American novelist of note, and some tendencies in American fiction had their origin with him. His life, by Dunlap, per-

¹ See Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii., 177.

² *Ibid.*, i., 277.

³ Whitcomb, *Chronological Outlines*.

haps the earliest American biography of an American author, was issued in 1815.

Irving's *Kniekerbocker's History of New York* appeared in 1809, after which the author was silent ten years, until the publication of the *Sketch-Book* in 1819. During these ten years his style entirely changed; so that Irving himself may be said to belong to the time under consideration, while this one production is of the earlier period. The influence of this isolated work, however, was great. It was the first American book to receive especial notice abroad; and its success, which was tolerably well-known by 1815, was a great source of encouragement to American writers. From this time on, "Our Own Irving" was always mentioned as an example of what American letters might be.

Bryant was a student of this early literature. In a letter written in 1818¹ he mentions among the poets that he has read, Dwight, Barlow, Trumbull, Humphrey, Honeywood, Clifton, Paine, Philip Freneau, and Francis Hopkinson; and others with whom he was not familiar, Hopkins, Dr. Ladd, and Dr. Church. In July of the same year he published, in the *North American Review*, an *Essay on American Poetry*, a review of recent collection by Solymán Brown. This essay shows the cooler judgment of the time, and even surprises us by its soundness.

Dwight and Trumbull, with whom Bryant heads his list, were members of the group known as The Hartford Wits, which flourished in the earliest years of the century. They attracted much attention for a time, but their fame was unusually short-lived. Other members of the same circle were Hopkins, Strong, Cogswell, and a little later, Mrs. Sigourney.

LITERARY TENDENCIES.

The summary of conditions that has already been given has indicated most of the tendencies that might be expected to operate in the course of literary development. No more need be said of the impulses derived from the classics, or from the ro-

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 154.

mantic school; or of the selective tendency that took as models for American literature the best that had been produced in the mother country. More important than all these was an intense literary self-consciousness, or what might be called a literary bumptiousness. It has already been seen how great was the growth of the national idea. The United States had shown its ability by land and sea; it was showing its inventive genius, its commercial enterprise, its ability to push rapidly into the new territory of the west. Only the most pessimistic citizen doubted the future greatness of the nation.

Now a truly great nation must have a great literature; and when this fact was recognized, there began a movement as definite as that toward a new canal, or the introduction of the railroad. It would be impossible to cite the speeches and magazine articles on the subject of a national literature put forth between 1815 and 1830. Edward Everett's Phi Beta Kappa address delivered in 1825 is still read.¹ But the discussion of the subject was going on ten years earlier. Bryant's *Essay on American Poetry*, already referred to, deals with the past only to look forward.

It is often said that in matters of taste America was at this time in a state of servile dependence on England. The following, from Lounsbury,² is a strong presentation of this view. The author is speaking of conditions in 1820.

"The intellectual dependence of America upon England at that period [1820] is something that it is now hard to understand. Political supremacy had been cast off, but the supremacy of opinion remained absolutely unshaken. Of creative literature there was then very little of any value produced: and to that little a foreign stamp was necessary, to give currency outside of the petty circle in which it originated. There was slight encouragement for the author to write; there was still less for the publisher to print. It was indeed a positive injury ordinarily to the commercial credit of a bookseller to bring out a volume of

¹ Works of Edward Everett, i., 9.

² Life of Cooper (American Men of Letters Series), 18.

poetry or of prose fiction which had been written by an American; for it was almost certain to fail to pay expenses. A sort of critical literature was struggling, or rather gasping, for a life that was hardly worth living; for its most marked characteristic was its servile deference to English judgment, and dread of English censure. It requires a painful and penitential examination of the reviews of the period to comprehend the utter abasement of mind with which the men of that day accepted the foreign estimate upon works written here, which had been read by themselves, but which it was clear had not been read by the critics whose opinions they echoed. Even the meekness with which they submitted to the most depreciatory estimate of themselves was out-done by the anxiety with which they hurried to assure the world that they, the most cultivated of the American race, did not presume to have so high an opinion of the writings of some one of their countrymen as had been expressed by enthusiasts, whose patriotism had proved too much for their discernment. Never was any class so eager to free itself from charges that imputed to it the presumption of holding independent views of its own. Out of the intellectual character of many of those who at that day pretended to be the representatives of the highest education in this country, it almost seemed that the element of manliness had been wholly eliminated; and that along with its sturdy democracy, whom no obstacles thwarted and no dangers daunted, the New World was also to give birth to a race of literary cowards and parasites."

Those who make such statements only repeat what was charged in the periodicals of the time, without recognizing that the fact of its being charged so freely, and often in such an exaggerated manner, is proof of its untruth. Doubtless two-thirds or three-fourths of the literary journals then published, directed such accusations against their contemporaries; and similar complaints are not uncommon in addresses, prefaces to books, etc. A few typical examples will be sufficient.

The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette,¹ speaks of a con-

¹ Volume ii., page 13, (1829).

temporary as "Trying to set us free from our deplorable and abject literary vassalage."

The Literary and Scientific Repository,¹ says, more moderately: "It would, however, be well worth our while to consider, whether the barbarous nakedness of literature, with which they have charged us, and which is in some respects undeniable, be not owing rather to fastidiousness of taste, than to paucity of talent among us; whether being without the advantages of the institutions and the associations by which foreign talent has been developed, we have not affected the difficulty of being pleased, which belongs to palates already satiated with literary luxuries; whether we have not aped the arts of the connoisseur, rather than imitated the productions of the artist:—if this be so, we have the faults of our own style of criticism to correct, as well as to resist the prejudice and the injustice of foreign literary tribunals.

"It is our business to nourish the stem, rather than to prune the tree. . . . If we could be brought to put the stamp of our own approbation upon our literary coin, without waiting for the image and superscription of the foreign potentates of taste, there would be more of it in the market; and we should grow richer by the liberality of our policy."

The same journal,² reviewing a forgotten poem, *Ontwa*, says: "Half of the trash which, sanctioned by the title of English novels, circulates through the union, paying its way as it goes, if it was of American origin, would meet with the contempt it deserves."

This feeling persisted to the very end of the period—if indeed it may not be said to persist even today. The following is from the *Western Monthly Magazine* for 1883:³

"If a paltry *ignoramus* writes a book of travels against us, who so indignant as we? If our flag is insulted, who so quick to resent the affront? If John Bull undertakes to sell us calico

¹ Volume ii., page 52, (New York, 1820).

² Volume iv., page 86.

³ Volume i, page 7, (Cincinnati)

cheaper than we can make it, who can declaim with such patriotic eloquence against the danger of being dependent upon foreigners? If an old maid in London, who has a few thousand pounds laid by to support herself and an interesting tom-cat in their old age, chooses to invest it in American bank-stock, with what disdain do we spurn the ignoble idea of enriching ourselves by the use of foreign capital! But while we thus resist and disclaim foreign influence in matters merely pecuniary, how tamely do we submit to the domination of the British press! While we shrink from the contamination of their cash and their cotton-goods, neither of which could do us any great harm, with what apathetic indifference do we see their books distributed throughout the whole extent of our republic, and exerting a silent but powerful influence on the morals and taste of the country! Now we are very clear in the proposition, that if there is one article of native growth or manufacture, which we are solemnly bound to cherish against all foreign competition, that article would consist in the products of our native intellect. . . . Our lawyers, physicians, divines, and statesmen are inferior to none in the world; and our authors would be equally successful, if the same inducements were placed before them."

It is undoubtedly true that the publication of books by American authors was not very profitable;¹ but this simply means that there was more money in pirating the works of Byron, Scott, Moore, and others, than in paying copyright to native authors of less ability. American writers had a set of contemporaries difficult to compete with. When they failed to secure the recognition that they felt to be their due they invariably raised the cry of servility to English criticism. That jealousy was at the bottom of the charge may be seen by the fact that both Irv-

¹ Goodrich, *Recollections*, ii., 111: "It was positively injurious to the commercial credit of a bookseller to undertake American works, unless they might be Morse's Geographies, classical books, schoolbooks, or something of that class. Nevertheless, about this time I published an edition of Trumbull's poems, in two volumes, octavo, and paid him a thousand dollars, and a hundred copies of the work, for the copyright. . . . I quietly pocketed a loss of about a thousand dollars."

ing¹ and Cooper² were accused of lack of patriotism as soon as their writings acquired a considerable sale abroad.

The servility consisted simply in the disposition of the reading public to buy good books cheap. It was always some other journal than the one making the charge that was guilty. And the few who did not indulge in this sort of recrimination may be searched almost in vain for examples of truckling to the literary judgment of England. At this very time the English and Scottish reviews were at the height of their power; and two or three attempts were made to republish selections from them in this country.³ But there is no evidence that these reprints were eminently successful, or that those who read them were fully in accord with the views they expressed. There was an unceasing protest against the unfairness with which the English quarterlies treated America. In 1819, Irving, though in need of money, declined an invitation to contribute to the *London Quarterly* at 100 guineas an article, because that periodical had always been hostile to his countrymen.⁴

Even English criticisms on English authors were quoted to be condemned fully as often as to be approved. In many cases American reviews show hostility to English writers evidently for no other reason than that they are English.⁵ On the other hand, the tendency to praise American authors was, if anything, excessive. Every one of the exaggerated laudations of popular

¹ Cincinnati Literary Gazette, March 5, 1825: "Mr. Irving has done much to lessen our selfrespect. He could not submit his works to the test of his native air; his genius must be fanned by the breath of royalty. He could not rise or fall with his countrymen; but must engraft himself upon a foreign stock, till he almost lose his original *taste*, and become an exotic at home."

Literary and Scientific Repository, iv., 86: "Was the author of the Sketch Book so caressed and flattered till the English writers gave us the clue?"

² See Lounsbury, *Life of Cooper*, Chapters viii., ix.

³ The *Athenaeum* or *Spirit of the English Magazines*, Boston, 1817; and the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, Philadelphia and New York, 1821: the latter a literal reprint of the *London magazine* of the same name.

⁴ Warner, *Life of Irving*, p. 117.

⁵ As examples, see a review of Blackwood's *Magazine* in the *Atlantic Magazine*, ii., 156, (New York, 1817); of *The Lament of Tasso*, in *American Monthly Magazine and Review*, i., 422 (New York, 1817); of *Marino Faliero*, in *Literary and Scientific Repository*, i., 91 (New York, 1821); and of *Precaution*, *Ibid.*, ii., 371.

writers already quoted¹ can be paralleled by numerous effusions regarding American authors. Only one or two examples can be cited here.

The first is from a review of *Tales of a Traveler* in the *Atlantic Magazine*:² "Irving has thrown off, for the amusement of the reading public, which, in this country, comprises two-thirds of the adult population, another series of tales, which will be perused by all ages, sexes, and conditions, until English literature becomes a dead letter."

Another specimen, interesting both because it is from New England and because it is so late in the period, is to be found in the *New England Magazine*, for 1831.³ This is nominally a review of *Lectures on American Literature*, by Samuel L. Knapp, but it is very largely a glorification of America, and an attack on her calumniators. It treats of the beauty of American women, the great longevity induced by the climate, the great excellence of our domestic animals, and the stature of Americans—gravely referring to one man who was six feet nine inches tall as if he were a typical specimen. The reviewer says: "Long after the puny revilers of American genius shall have supplied the grocer with wrappings and the book-worm with food, the Lectures on American Literature will have a place in the library of the American scholar and minister to the instruction of American youth."

These lectures themselves are interesting. They treat of almost everything but American literature, of which very little is said.

Finally, it might be said that the charge of servility to English taste at this time involves a self-contradiction. England was in the midst of a confused literary controversy. There were ultra-conservatives, moderate conservatives, and radicals and innovators of all sorts and degrees. It must be a fastidious reader who could not find among them all, some with whose doc-

¹ Byron, p. 16; Moore, p. 16, note; Mrs. Hemans, p. 17, note.

² Volume i., page 390.

³ Volume i., page 415.

trines of taste he would agree. To say simply that America followed England could mean little unless it meant that the Americans were abject enough to admire English authors and at the same time to admire the reviews that abused them.

This feeling of literary independence was especially marked in the west, where it was nourished by the free spirit of the pioneer, and by persistent traditions of earlier conflicts. It seems also (but one cannot speak with much certainty) to have been stronger in New England than in New York and Philadelphia, which were now in closer commercial touch with the mother country.

The disposition to be too self-assertive doubtless did a good deal of harm to the cause of American letters; but it must not be supposed that it was always carried to excess. Lowell conveys a wrong impression when he says:¹ "Criticism there was none, and what assumed its function was half provincial self-conceit, half patriotic resolve to find swans in birds of quite another species." Criticism there was a great deal, and much of it was of a surprisingly high grade. Some of the laudations and invectives that have been cited as extreme examples show by the very English in which they are written that they are not representative of the best judgment of the country. To a considerable extent they were the result of an attempt to imitate the slashing style of the British periodicals. But there was produced a considerable body of critical writings of which no nation need have been ashamed. The reader is continually surprised to find American criticisms which pronounce verdicts almost identical with those which have been given by the subsequent judgment of seventy-five years—verdicts not alone on the right of books to hold a place in literature, but on the nature of their merits and defects. This is especially true in case of English works, where, as has already been said, distance gave a chance for a fair view. Such comparisons are always dangerous; but it is probably not rash to say that the judgment of today upon Byron, Wordsworth, Scott, and others, was more accurately ex-

¹ Toast, "Our Literature."

pressed by the best American criticism than in any reviews of their works that appeared in Great Britain during the same time.

Literary self-consciousness showed itself not only nationally, but locally and individually. A great nation, with a great literature, must have a center of culture; and why should not this distinction fall to Boston, or New York, or Cincinnati, or any other postoffice where an aspiring poet chanced to get his mail? The standard formula seems to have been "Athens of ———," and one or more cities in every state and section were self-styled in this way. Boston was spoken of as "The Literary Emporium" in 1824.¹ Cities were no more modest in showing forth their virtues than they are today. The prospectus of the *American Quarterly Review* says:² "Philadelphia has within herself a large fund of talent, erudition, and science—larger perhaps than any other American city can boast." Judging from the context this statement is intended to be modest.

A great literature must be produced by great writers; and the course of reasoning in the minds of many prospective authors seemed to be: Since American literature is all to be written, why should not I be its Homer, or its Shakespeare, or at least its Addison? These were in most cases the men of smaller ability, though Cooper had something of the feeling. But those who were modest enough to doubt their own greatness were eagerly looking for the prophets to appear.

One amusing illustration of the serious way in which our literature was looked upon may be found in the attempt to establish an American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres. A circular dated Oct. 1, 1820, says:³ "The objects of such an institution which directly present themselves, are, to collect and interchange literary intelligence; to guard against local or foreign corruptions, or to correct such as already exist; to settle varying orthography; determine the use of doubtful words and phrases; and generally, to form and maintain, as far as practicable, an English standard of writing and pronunciation, cor-

¹ S. Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, i., 37.

² Philadelphia, 1827.

³ *Literary and Scientific Repository*, ii., 63.

rect, fixed, and uniform, throughout our extensive territory. Connected with this, and according to future ability, may be such rewards for meritorious productions, and such incentives to improvement in the language and literature of our country, and in the general system of instruction, as from existing circumstances may become proper." To guard against misapprehension, it is stated: "It is not designed, independent of England, to form an American language, farther than as it relates to the numerous and increasing names and terms peculiarly American."

The plan of the organization was as follows: "Members to be divided into three classes, Resident, who reside in New York; Corresponding, those whose distance prevents their regular attendance; and Honorary, those at home or abroad whom the body may think proper expressly to admit as such." Corresponding members were to vote on all propositions by writing.

The statement of objects is followed by a very patriotic argument in favor of such an Academy, which was said to be especially necessary in the United States on account of the size of the country, and the danger that provincialisms might become troublesome. The headquarters of the Academy were to be in New York. It was to start with 50 members, and the maximum membership was to be 120. The circular is signed by William S. Cardell, and is accompanied by a number of letters from men who had been asked to express their opinions of the scheme. One thinks it may be of great use in restoring "purity of taste," which he explains to be the proper recognition of Pope, Dryden, etc., as against contemporary English writers. Others suggest their own pet ways in which the organization may accomplish good; together these communications form an interesting declaration of literary independence.

The Academy had a distinguished list of officers, though how they were chosen does not appear. They were: President, John Quincy Adams; vice-presidents, Hon. Brockholst Livingston, Hon. Joseph Story, Hon. Wm. Lowndes; corresponding secretary, Wm. S. Cardell; recording secretary, Alex. McLeod, D. D.;

treasurer, John Stearns, M. D.; counselors, Daniel Webster, Thos. C. Brownell, D. D., LL. D., John M. Mason, D. D., Joseph Hopkinson, LL. D., Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL. D., John Augustin Smith, M. D., president of William and Mary College, Hon. John Lewis Taylor, chief justice of North Carolina, Hon. Henry Clay, Washington Irving, James Kent, LL. D.; Honorary members, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Jay, Chas. C. Pinckney, James Monroe, John Trumbull, LL. D.

As has been said, the seat of the Academy was to be in New York. In the *North American Review*¹ Edward Everett, representing the New England literary set, makes fun of the whole scheme, and finally calls it "One of the most signal displays of unprofitable farce-making we have ever witnessed." Among other things, he accuses the promoters of using the names of persons without their consent.

The society proposed a medal to Mr. Chas. Botta for his history of the American revolution, also medals for the best history of the United States, book of reading selections, and best popular treatise on natural philosophy, or natural science. Its subsequent history is lost in oblivion. Indeed it is hard to judge whether there were much more to the movement than the ambitions of the corresponding secretary, of whose enthusiasm there can be no doubt.

PERIODICALS.

A still more significant indication of the self-conscious tendency, and indeed the most significant literary fact of the period, is the founding of magazines. The industries of book-publishing, book-advertising, and book-selling had not reached their present development, and the issue of a volume by any one author was rather more of an undertaking than it is today. A magazine, however, could be started with slight financial backing, and could be filled with short miscellaneous contributions by a variety of authors—material not suitable for publication in

¹ Volume xiv., page 350 (1822).

a more pretentious form. At this time no single periodical enjoyed the prestige now held by a few of our leading reviews and magazines. Naturally enough, there sprang up in almost every city, and in many country towns, one or more publications representative of the literary culture and aspirations of that particular locality. It is in these, rather than in the books of the time, that the student must trace the literary development of the nation.

Writers on this period seem not to have realized the number of these periodicals, or their value as indications both of national characteristics and of local peculiarities. The studies in preparation for this paper, have been carried on almost entirely in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and the number of such publications discovered in this one collection was a complete surprise, not only to the writer, but to all to whom he has shown the results of his investigation.

It is very hard to decide where the line should be drawn between newspapers and magazines. For the purpose of this study, periodicals in which the reporting of current events is made at all prominent have not been considered. On this principle, many religious and "family" papers have been excluded, even though they contain much literary matter. In cases of serious doubt, it has been assumed to a slight extent that a weekly was a newspaper unless it was clearly something else, while in case of a monthly the opposite has been assumed to be true. Scientific magazines have been included if they were intended for general readers, not if they were purely technical. A new series has been counted as a new magazine only in case no information could be obtained regarding the first series, or in case the magazine underwent a radical change.

In the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin the writer has found 137 periodicals begun between 1815 and 1833 which, according to the above test, he has considered as "literary." It must be remembered that this is the result of investigation in one library alone, and it is impossible to say how far the list might be extended by research elsewhere. There are no

complete check-lists or other guides for buyers of these periodicals, and catalogues of other libraries are not so arranged as to show readily what they include in this line. As far as can be judged from the meager data gained by inspection of lists and by correspondence, no library surpasses that of the Historical Society of Wisconsin in the number of these periodicals; but it is certain that this collection is not yet even approximately complete. The writer hopes that the publication of this study may make it easier to acquire more data regarding our early periodical literature.

In Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature* are catalogued 31 periodicals that had their beginnings in this period, 29 of which are found in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.¹ For convenience, a list of these journals is given in Appendix A. The remaining 108 periodicals, to be found in this library, are listed in Appendix B. Appendix C contains a miscellaneous list of periodicals that have not been seen, and that are therefore not included in the tabulations that follow. Some of these are known to have been established between 1815 and 1833; others were issued during this period, but the exact date of founding is not known.

Of the 139 periodicals that have been examined, about 50 were religious in character; half a dozen were organs of reforms, such as temperance, colonization of the negroes, etc.; and perhaps an equal number were devoted almost exclusively to science and the arts. The rest were more purely literary.

The religious periodicals may well be counted with the others because they have a literary as well as a religious character. Many of them review books of general literature, comment on events of general interest, and study the intellectual movements of the time in their relations to religious thought. They were produced, not by a religious impulse or by a literary impulse alone, but by both acting together. They vary from 4 to 250 pages to the issue, and differ almost as widely in character as in size. Some were scholarly reviews, displaying an amount

¹ The two not in this library are the *American Institute of Instruction* and the *Select Journal*.

of erudition that appalls a modern reader.¹ Several were devoted to the controversy between the Unitarians and the Congregationalists; and one to a similar difference among the Quakers.² Several were denominational organs; and several were published in the interests of missionary societies—especially during the latter part of the period, when the missionary movement had gained considerable force. There were also two or three Sunday-school papers, the predecessors of the great number that are published today; but evidently distributed to regular subscribers, and not as premiums for attendance. In the West, exact theological discussions had a lesser place. Magazines were smaller in bulk, and were sometimes less reserved in tone than those in the East—the emotional element in religion receiving more attention.³

Of the scientific and technical journals nothing need be said except that they illustrate the interest in all branches of knowledge.

The rest of the list is composed of reviews and miscellaneous literary and family journals. A number of magazines, among them those in the West, were of a general character, and contained fiction, reviews, poetry, scientific articles, and miscellaneous essays;⁴ but there was a tendency, especially among those indexed in Poole, to be ambitious, and to engage in religious controversy, or to settle weighty matters after the manner of the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh*. The *American Quarterly Review*, of Philadelphia, was avowedly modeled after these journals. For an

¹ For example, the *American Biblical Repository*, with Hebrew index, Greek index, and English index to each volume.

² *The Friend*.

³ The *Calvinistic Magazine*, Rogersville, Tenn., 1827, contains the following dedication: "To thy cause, Triune Jehovah, we devote this work. May thy blessing go with it. May sinners be brought to the Saviour, saints advanced in the divine life, and thy kingdom promoted.—And when the dead, small and great, shall stand at thy bar, O may the readers and conductors of this work, with robes washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, enter into the joy of their Lord, and swell the anthem of redeeming love, when earth and time shall be no more." This could hardly be paralleled from an eastern magazine of the time.

⁴ Examples are the *Western Review* and the *Western Monthly Magazine*; and, in the East, the *Atlantic Magazine*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *North American Review* for the first few volumes.

extreme example of American heaviness, the reader has only to refer to this review, each number of which contained 250 uninviting pages in fine type.

For the ladies there were many lighter magazines, with or without colored fashion-plates. These were always advertised as "highly moral." They usually contained some poetry (Mrs. Sigourney being the favorite author), some "advice," and a considerable amount of slow fiction, in which nature was always described at its loveliest, and virtue always received its reward. All gave lists of marriages, and a few of them brief summaries of other events. They covered the field occupied to-day by a host of papers ranging from the *Ladies' Home Journal* to the *New York Weekly* and the *Fireside Companion*.¹

Another class of magazines aimed to educate the masses. The editor of the *Family Magazine*, New York, 1833, begins an announcement: "Undertaking, as we do, to furnish a *system* of *general*² knowledge,——." The headings in this journal are Natural History, Literature, History, Mythology, Biography.³ Along the same line were the "Libraries," cheap reprints, in periodical form, of standard books. Two of these were started in Philadelphia in 1833,⁴ one publishing somewhat heavier works than the other. Two or three early attempts at college journalism are also included in the list.⁵

Hope must have sprung eternal in the breasts of the editors and publishers of these magazines, or they would have foreseen the failure that almost surely awaited them. A few ventures, like the *North American Review*, met a need, and finally established themselves on firm footing. Some, especially among the religious magazines, were organs of denominations or societies, and so were assured of contributors and subscribers. The great

¹ See the *Ladies' Magazine* and *Literary Gazette*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, the *Boston Pearl*, the *New York Mirror*, the *Casket*, etc., etc.

² Italics those of the original.

³ See also the *People's Magazine*, the *Family Lyceum*, the *Cabinet of Instruction*, *Literature*, and *Amusement*.

⁴ *Waldie's* and *Greenbank's*.

⁵ The *Virginia Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres*, University of Virginia; the *Literary Tablet* and the *Literary Focus*, Miami.

majority, however, came into existence as the result of misguided enthusiasm, and resulted in literary and financial bankruptcy. Every one was ready to admit that a literary magazine was a good thing, but few had the ability, and fewer the time, to furnish readable articles. "We take no pride in writing it all ourselves," says one struggling editor,¹ a few months after his prospectus² has dwelt on the wide scope of his magazine, and the long list of able contributors whose aid was assured. His experience was that of the majority. Calls for contributions were so frequent that the ingenuity of the editor was taxed to devise new wordings. Gentlemen whose early opportunities had been neglected were urged to send in their productions with the assurance that details of spelling and grammar would be attended to in the office. Still the contributions did not come. One man³ wrote all the first number of the *North American Review* except one poem. Of course this state of things did not continue long in case of the *North American*, and the editor soon had the luxury of being able to decline contributions.

Doubtless subscriptions were even harder to secure than articles; but of this we hear little until the journal closes its career with a mournful valedictory,⁴ or suddenly comes to an end without any explanation.

The fate of previous attempts did not in the least discourage those who had new plans. Men could not believe that a country so great as ours was destined to be would not support a legitimate literary enterprise. The following analogy, used in the announcement of a new magazine, is illustrative of hopefulness, if not of logic: "It is true that the magazines which have been mentioned by name, and many others, were successively discontinued; but this no more proves that they were not extensively

¹ Illinois Monthly Magazine, i., 144.

² This prospectus is an interesting piece of flowery western prose. The objects of the magazine are set forth at length. Among other things the reader is told: "We wish to collect the scattered rays of intelligence which are dispersed over our country, and by concentrating those beams which are now glimmering singly and feebly, to produce a steady brilliance which may illumine the land." The magazine survived two years.

³ Tudor.

⁴ The one in the last number of the *Western Review* is very good.

useful, than the death or removal of a minister proves that his labors, through a long succession of years, were of no value to his people, or to the church at large."¹ Editors went from the failure of one enterprise to the beginning of the next with confidence undiminished.

The geographical distribution of these periodicals will be considered later. The distribution by years is shown in the following table:

PERIODICALS FOUNDED EACH YEAR FROM 1815 TO 1833.

Year.	In Poole.	Not in Poole.	Total.
1815	1	2	3
1816		4	4
1817		9	9
1818	1	5	6
1819	3	2	5
1820	1	1	2
1821		5	5
1822	1	5	6
1823		5	5
1824	1	9	10
1825	3	1	4
1826	2	6	8
1827	2	8	10
1828	3	15	18
1829	2	4	6
1830	1	9	10
1831	4	2	6
1832	1	8	9
1833	5	8	13

At first glance this table seems to signify little. A closer examination reveals the existence of a period of activity from about 1816 to 1818; a period of depression following this, until about 1826; and a considerable activity from this date till 1833 (and afterward). The six journals beginning in 1822 and the ten in 1824 were not of such a nature as to be very signifi-

¹ *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, i., 4.

cant.¹ The enthusiasm following the war led to the immediate establishment of a large number of periodicals; the failure of these produced a temporary reaction; and a decade later the movement was resumed. A considerable number of the magazines begun in the later years of the period were religious. Of this time also are most of the attempts to enlighten the masses² and a considerable number of the lighter and ladies' magazines.³

THE ANNUALS.

As if the magazines were not numerous enough to give every aspiring author a chance to publish his work, further opportunity was given by the annuals. These were gift-books with fanciful titles⁴ and elaborate bindings, containing light miscellany in prose and verse, and usually a number of engravings. They made their appearance just before the holiday season, and were the fashionable remembrances of the day. The idea was borrowed from England,⁵ and is traced by some back through the French to Germany; but it found an excellent opportunity for development in a country where every one was anxiously looking for the coming of a national literature. The number of these books increased year by year, until the fad died as all fads do. Probably the only survival today is to be found in the elaborate volumes issued by the students of some

¹ Among them were, in 1822, the *Museum of Foreign Literature*, Philadelphia; the *Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information*, Baltimore; the *Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor*, New Haven; the *Utica Christian Repository*; the *Ohio Miscellaneous Museum*, Lebanon; and the *Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal*, New York; in 1824, the *Telescope*, New York; the *Christian Telescope*, Providence; the *Evangelist*, Hartford; the *Rural Repository*, Hudson, N. Y.; the *Columbian Historian*, New Richmond, Ohio; the *Canadian Review*, Montreal.

² The *Cabinet of Instruction, Literature and Amusement*, 1828; the *Family Lyceum*, 1832; the *Select Circulating Library*, Greenbank's *Periodical Library*, the *People's Magazine*, the *Family Magazine*, 1833.

³ The *Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio*, the *Souvenir*, the *Casket or Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment*, 1827; the *Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette*, the *Worcester Talisman*, 1828; the *Rochester Gem*, 1829; *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830; the *Boston Pearl*, the *Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature and Science*, 1831; the *Magnolia, or Literary Tablet*, 1833.

⁴ Among those for 1829 were the *Token*, the *Pearl*, the *Talisman*, the *Atlantic Souvenir*, the *Remember Me*, the *Casket*, the *Literary Souvenir*, the *Western Souvenir*.

⁵ Readers of George Eliot will recall a reference to them in *Middlemarch*.

colleges; though the "magazinelets" of the last few years express the same spirit.

Some of these year-books depended mainly on the arts of the printer and the binder for their attractiveness, while others had more merit. Almost all our better authors contributed to them, as did Tennyson and many others in England; but one or two well-known names were used then as now to float a good deal of trashy material. Among the best for literary merit, though not remarkable for mechanical excellence, is *The Talisman*, written by Bryant, Verplanck, and Sands, and illustrated by Inman, S. F. B. Morse, and others. This was issued for three years, 1828, 1829, and 1830.

EFFECTS OF THE SELF-CONSCIOUS TENDENCY.

Introspection regarding literary matters had its advantages. It was no doubt well that the nation should be stimulated to an interest in letters, and better that it should be stimulated by foolish ideas than not at all. But there were also disadvantages. Extreme self-consciousness in literary matters is not conducive to the best employment of individual talent, and during the time under consideration no great literary masterpiece was produced. It is noticeable that no writers of that day are now read more than Irving and Bryant, who were among those least carried away by extravagant notions.

HASTE.

The reason why so many of these early productions have not survived may be found not so much in lack of genius as in haste and carelessness in composition. A tendency to rush into print cannot be counted unnatural in a new country, where all is activity, where few men have the means for lives of leisure, and where in many cases time for careful revision cannot be found.

In this connection it is noteworthy that many authors of this time were engaged in commercial pursuits. Halleck was a clerk in a counting-house; Drake was "in merchandise," and,

after he studied medicine, conducted a drug store in connection with his practice; Charles Sprague was for many years a bank cashier in Boston; Payne began life as a clerk, and Pierpont was at one time a merchant. Charles P. Clinch,¹ once well known as critic, dramatist, and poet, was in early life secretary to a shipbuilder, and for nearly half a century was deputy collector of the port of New York.

On the other hand, the proportion of authors from the professions of law and divinity was smaller than might have been expected. The theologians were engaged in their controversies, and had little time for general literature. Perhaps the brightest lawyers found their most congenial activity in politics. Professors in the colleges contributed their fair share of reviews and special articles to the magazines, but published little else. It must be remembered that whatever the life of the average college professor may be today, it was not one of leisure then, as may be seen by a glance at the number of subjects taught by one man.²

The remuneration that authors received for their works was not enough to make literature possible as a means of support, except for a few favorites, like Irving and Cooper. In many cases nothing was paid for magazine articles, and the compensation was probably never great.³ As is so often the case, the amounts received for literary productions were determined by almost anything except the merits of the writings themselves. Bryant set the price of \$2 upon each of his shorter poems in

¹ Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 394.

² In 1830 Harvard had but 16 members on the instructional force, and Yale 14. The faculties of the smaller colleges averaged hardly half as many.

³ The Announcement of the Christian Advocate for 1823 says: "Account or apologize for it as we may, it is still a fact deeply to be regretted, that in our country literary labour has hitherto received no adequate remuneration. This is the *real* cause that so few books of solid value, of whatever description, have been written and published in the United States; and it is the *acknowledged* cause that periodical publications have so often been deficient in merit and short in duration. As a matter of justice, then, and believing that in this, as in every other concern, equity and true policy are inseparable, it has been determined that for every composition inserted in the Christian Advocate, the author, unless he voluntarily declines it, shall receive a pecuniary compensation to the full extent as liberal as the avails of the work will permit." Italics are those of the original.

1822;¹ and his earlier volumes brought in nothing worth considering. On the other hand, George P. Morris, who, with his writings, is now forgotten, could sell a song unread for \$50 at any time; and in 1825 wrote *Briar Cliff*, a drama, for the copyright of which he received \$3,500.² John Howard Payne also received handsome sums for his dramas. Trumbull got \$1,000 for the copyright of a single edition of his poems, though his publisher lost money by it.³ These men caught the popular ear, and were paid for popularity; but there were not many such. Much of the best work was done without thought or possibility of remuneration.

Of writers who could fairly be called literary men, a large number were actively connected with the periodical press, either holding positions on the staffs of daily papers, or editing some of the numerous magazines and reviews.⁴ In nearly all cases the editor had a financial interest in the periodical, and in some instances undertook the entire business management. Such a life must have been even less conducive to repose than that of a broker's clerk or a bank cashier.

These positions were not sinecures. In 1822 Sedgwick writes regarding the editor of the *Atlantic Magazine*: "Bliss and White, his publishers, are liberal gentlemen; they pay him \$500 a year, and authorize an expenditure of \$500 more." This latter figure gives a basis for some interesting computations as to the pay of contributors.

The tendency toward haste was increased by other causes, one of which was the desire to get into print before any one else, and so secure a place with the fathers of American literature. Still more important was the influence of English writers. As has been seen, the most popular were Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth. The example of all these, if not in

¹ Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 192.

² Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, p. 403.

³ See note, p. 29.

⁴ Dana, Bryant, Poe, Sands, Wm. L. Stone, N. P. Willis, and Samuel Woodworth were a few of the best known men who were engaged in editorial work. It is evident that if every magazine started during this time had a "man of letters" as editor, the supply must have been pretty well exhausted.

favor of quantity rather than quality, was certainly not in favor of careful revision. Early literary success in this country had a similar influence. Cooper wrote as profusely as did Scott,¹ and had a dazzling popularity. Irving's model, after 1815, was the Addisonian essay; and this, though not in reality easy to write, is likely to seem so to the inexperienced reader. Probably the widest success in poetry was attained by the Croaker papers, dashed off from day to day to hit the prevailing foibles.

Traditions of work done rapidly were carefully preserved. *The Old Oaken Bucket* is said to have been composed in less than half an hour, on an inspiration derived from a remark at a dinner party.² Goodrich, in his *Recollections*,³ tells with much gusto of the composition of Brainard's once famous lines to Niagara, the points most emphasized being that the poem was written in twenty minutes, and that Brainard had never been within five hundred miles of the falls. Admirers of Neal tell that: "Between October, 1821, and March, 1822, he wrote and published no less than eight large duodecimos, besides writing for the *Telegraph* newspaper and the *Portico* magazine, and studying, after a desultory fashion, four or five languages."⁴ Bryant stands almost alone in the practice of withholding his poems until they had been subjected to his own cool judgment; and in his critical writings he frequently felt it necessary to advise against lack of pains-taking. In a review article,⁵ after speaking of haste as the besetting sin of the writers of the day in America, he says: "There is a respect due to the literary world which should restrain an author from publishing his work before he has made it as perfect as he is able; in like manner as the decorums of civilized society restrain us from ushering ourselves into a polite assembly with a long beard, an unbrushed coat, and dirty boots."

¹ Between 1820 and 1830 he published 11 novels, besides other writings.

² Wilson, Bryant and his Friends, 379.

³ Volume ii., page 148.

⁴ Scharf's History of Baltimore, p. 643. Logan was written in six or eight weeks; Randolph in 36 days; Seventy-six in 27 days; and Errata in 39 days.

⁵ A review of Pickering's Ruins of Paestum, North American Review, xix., 42.

In marked contrast with his method stands that of a man like Percival, in whose works a few passages of wonderful beauty are found here and there in masses of unrevised Byronic verse.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

The distribution of magazines indicates pretty clearly the centers of literary activity. The three points of greatest interest in the East are New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. In the West, Lexington and Cincinnati made the greatest pretensions to literary culture. Baltimore must be treated apart from the rest of the South.

THE KNICKERBOCKER SCHOOL.

During these formative years the center of literary production was New York. The material advance of the city just after the war has been seen; and commercial prosperity always brings certain opportunities for literary workers. New York was already a publishing center. The establishment of the Harpers dates from 1818. New York newspapers were soon admittedly the best in the United States. Here, too, were produced,—whether by chance or because of occult influence, those who wish may speculate,—the two first American writers to win fame abroad. It was natural that young New England men like Bryant, who would naturally have gone to Boston, should be attracted by the advantages of the metropolis. Even men who continued to live in New England, like Dana, had many affiliations with the New York set; indeed, the same might be said of authors like Simms, who lived in the South, or like Poe, who lived nowhere in particular.¹

The best remembered names of the Knickerbocker school are Irving and Cooper in prose, and Bryant, Halleck, and Drake in verse. To these should be added Sands, Paulding, Verplanck, Woodworth, Illhouse, and many others, who, though now al-

¹ Both Dana and Poe are classed as Knickerbocker writers by Wilson, Bryant and his Friends. Simms' presence in New York is often mentioned.

most forgotten, were once mentioned with the greatest names of English literature.¹

New York in these days was of course not the unwieldy metropolis that it is now. Men knew each other better, and young men of talent had plenty of opportunity to make acquaintances. Several clubs were in existence, modeled somewhat on those of Addison's time. One of these, the Bread and Cheese Club, founded by Cooper, was frequented by eminent lawyers, artists, professors in Columbia College, and writers like Percival, Halleck, Hillhouse, and Sands.² At a little later time the Sketch Club, or the XXI., included some of the same men, among the members being Bryant, Verplanck, Halleck, Henry, and John Inman, S. F. B. Morse, Hillhouse, Cole, and Ingham. Meetings were often held at Hoboken, and here several members planned and wrote *The Talisman*.² The Athenaeum society arranged for popular lectures on topics connected with art and literature. Bryant delivered a course under its auspices in 1820, on the subject of *Poetry*.⁴

The connection between artists and literary men seems to have been close. They mingled in the same clubs; Morse, Inman, Allston, and others turned their hands to verse and prose occasionally; and Bryant lectured on *Mythology* before the newly-founded Academy of The Arts of Design.

The periodicals begun in New York from 1815 to 1833 are given below, arranged by years. This list includes only those in Poole, and others that have been examined, and is of course incomplete.

NEW YORK PERIODICALS.

1816. The Christian Herald.

The Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review.

¹ For a much longer list, including both earlier and later writers, see Wilson, Bryant and his Friends.

² Godwin, *Life of Bryant*, i., 203.

³ Wilson, *Bryant and his Friends*, 400.

⁴ Synopses of these lectures are included in his collected works.

1817. The Weekly Visitor and Ladies' Museum.
The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review.
The Christian Journal and Literary Register.
The Evangelical Guardian and Review.
1818. The (American) Methodist Magazine.
1819. The Ladies' Literary Cabinet.
The American Journal of Science.
1820. The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review.
1822. The Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal.
1823. The New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette.
1824. The Atlantic Magazine.
The Telescope.
1825. The American Annual Register.
1827. The Olive Branch.
1828. The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature, Fine Arts and the Drama.
The Cabinet of Instruction, Literature, and Amusement.
The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal.
The Free Enquirer.
The Atlas.
The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal.
1831. American Biblical Repository.
1832. The Spirit of Practical Godliness.
American Railroad Journal and Mechanic's Magazine.
The New York and Richmond County Free Press.
1833. American Monthly Magazine.
Knickerbocker Magazine.
The Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge.
The Mechanics' Magazine and Register of Inventions and Improvements.

Unless some important periodicals are not included in this list—which is unlikely,—the purely literary publications of high grade were not so numerous as might be supposed. The

various ladies' magazines, cabinets, etc., were light in character. In the early part of the period, the *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review*, and later the *Literary and Scientific Repository* and *Critical Review*, were serious and solid. The *Atlantic Magazine* was amalgamated after one year with an earlier periodical to form the *New York Review* and *Athenaeum Magazine*; and shortly afterward was merged with the *U. S. Gazette* of Boston. Bryant and Sands were among the editors while it was still in New York; and among the contributors were Halleck, Dana, Willis, Longfellow, Bancroft, and Caleb Cushing. The *American Monthly Magazine* and the *Knickerbocker Magazine* were late attempts of a serious character.

Although these magazines were not quite what might have been expected, there was plenty of opportunity for authors to publish. The daily papers were open to verses and sometimes to other work of a purely literary character. The Boston magazines were also willing to receive contributions of merit, and New York men made use of them freely.

As has been said, Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* appeared in 1809, and therefore belongs to an earlier period. One of its chief missions was to show that the new world could produce a readable book. After the publication of this work the author was silent for ten years, until the advent of the *Sketch-Book* in 1819. In this same year appeared the *Croaker* poems, by Drake and Halleck, satires on topics of the day, published in the *Evening Post*. The authorship was kept a secret, and this no doubt increased the excitement which they caused. Today these poems seem flat enough; but we are told that they were the one topic of conversation in New York, and that men held their breath every day until the paper was issued, and it was known what person or fad had been lampooned.¹ In 1820 came Cooper's first novel, *Precaution*, and a year later his first marked success, the *Spy*. Bryant's first volume of verse made its appearance in 1821.² Other works issued in these three

¹ See J. G. Wilson, introduction to Halleck's Works, page vii.

² His juvenile diatribe, *The Embargo*, was written in 1808, when the author was but 13 years of age. *Thanatopsis* was published in the *North American Review* for 1817, but had been composed earlier.

years were Halleck's *Fanny*, Verplanck's *Bucktail Bards*, Dana's *Idle Man*, the first edition of Percival's poems, and two dramas by Hillhouse.

It has been seen that after 1818 came a period of depression, so to speak, in the industry of founding magazines. It is probable that the success of American writers in these years restored confidence, and led to the activity in starting periodicals that has been noticed for a later period.

BOSTON.

Although the first place is due to New York, so far as literary achievements at this time are concerned, it must not be supposed that Boston was inactive. Both before and after this period her literary supremacy was undoubted. Just now she freely conceded the superior genius of the Knickerbocker writers.¹ But it was claimed, perhaps with justice, that the New England city was the seat of a truer and more widely diffused culture than was to be found anywhere else in America.

The Boston journals that have been examined are:

BOSTON PERIODICALS.

- 1815. North American Review.
- 1817. The Athenæum or Spirit of the English Magazines.
The New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine.
- 1818. The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer.
- 1819. Christian Disciple.
- 1822. The Boston Medical Intelligencer.
- 1824. Christian Examiner.
- 1825. United States Literary Gazette.
Boston Monthly Magazine.
- 1826. American Journal of Education.
- 1828. Spirit of the Pilgrims.

¹ The New England Magazine, of Boston, for 1831-3 gave a series of "Literary Portraits" of American poets. The three given first are Halleck, Bryant, and Percival; Chas. Sprague and Miss H. F. Gould follow, but the comments upon these indicate that they were not considered the equals of those mentioned before.

- The Yankee, and Boston Literary Gazette.
 The Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette.
1830. American Almanac.
 Mechanic's Magazine and Journal of Public Internal
 Improvement.
 American Annals of Education and Instruction.
1831. American Institute of Instruction.
 New England Magazine.
 The Boston Pearl, a Gazette of Polite Literature.
1832. American Monthly Review.
 The Family Lyceum.
1833. American Quarterly Observer.
 Select Journal.
 The People's Magazine.

Boston led, even at this time, in the number and the character of her literary magazines.¹ The relatively small number established in the early years of the period is significant of the depression in New England just after the war. Before 1825 the *North American* was the only important journal of a strictly literary type. After this date the *United States Literary Gazette*, the *Boston Monthly Magazine*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *American Monthly Review*, though all short-lived, were well-meant attempts to print literature of high grade.

The *United States Literary Gazette* was edited by Theophilus Parsons. After its amalgamation with the *New York Literary Gazette* in 1826, it became the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, and was edited successively by James G. Carter and Charles Folsom. Longfellow contributed both to this and to the *American Monthly Magazine* before he graduated from college. The *New England Magazine*, published by J. T. and E. Buckingham, contains, among other articles of interest, the first two installments of the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*.

¹ In Poole are indexed 12 periodicals of this time from Boston, 5 from New York, and 3 from Philadelphia. This proportion is in part accounted for by the excellence of the Boston publications, in part, no doubt, by the enthusiasm of some patriotic librarian. It is to be regretted that several other magazines, notably some from New York and Philadelphia, have not been included and thus made available to the general student.

The North American Review, established in the year with which this study begins, and continuing to the present time, is worthy of especial consideration. It was founded by William Tudor, a member of the Anthology Club, which published the *Monthly Anthology* from 1803 to 1811. Associated with Tudor in the early days were Buckminster, J. Q. Adams, George Ticknor, Dr. John Sylvester, John Gardner, and others. Tudor wrote all the articles in the first number except one short poem. The *Review* was at first published every two months in numbers of 150 pages each; after the 7th volume it was issued quarterly. At first it was of a general literary character, but when it became a quarterly it ceased to publish poetry and general news. In 1817 control of the magazine passed to Judge Willard Phillips, and a little later to a group of young men, mostly lawyers, who chose Jared Sparks as general manager. In 1819 Sparks went to Baltimore, and was succeeded by Edward T. Channing. Soon after, the latter was appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, and Edward Everett assumed control. Dana had been associated with Channing, and was mentioned for editor, but "was considered too unpopular."¹ He resigned from the editorial staff, and left the Anthology Club. In 1822 the magazine was again transferred to Sparks, who managed it until 1830, when he was succeeded by Alexander H. Everett, brother of Edward.²

Possibly one reason why Boston produced so little of lasting literary value at this time was that the city was the center of the intense theological controversy that has already been noticed. Some of the brightest minds were engaged in this controversy, but the writings that resulted will never be read again except by the historical student.

Next to Dana, who was somewhat erratic, and who never fitted in well with his contemporaries, perhaps the most popular writer was Charles Sprague, the banker-poet. Sprague was famous as the author of several pieces of verse made to order,

¹ Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, ii., 90.

² See an article by Poole in *Hist. Mag.*, iii., 343. This gives a list of contributors from 1815 to 1859, with the date of the first contribution of each.

among them prologues for the opening of theatres in New York and Philadelphia, a prize ode on *Shakespeare*, and a Phi Beta Kappa poem on *Curiosity*, usually considered his best. These are really very good of their kind; but the pride that Boston took in them and their author seems a little strange.¹

OTHER NEW ENGLAND CITIES.

Boston was the only really important literary center in New England. Next on the list, though not at all comparable, should come New Haven, the seat of a rival college. Since the literary life of a city at this time was pretty well shown by its periodicals, the following grouping of New England magazines is of interest:

NEW ENGLAND PERIODICALS.

New Haven.	1819. Christian Monthly Spectator.
	1822. Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor.
	1829. Christian Quarterly Spectator.
Worcester.	1826. Worcester Magazine.
	1828. Worcester Talisman.
Andover.	1829. American Quarterly Register.
Portsmouth, N. H.	1818. The Christian Herald.
Hartford.	1821. The Religious Inquirer.
	1824. The Evangelist.
	1826. The Literary Casket.
	Supplement to the Connecticut Courant.
Cambridge.	1815. The Friend of Peace.

It will be noticed that most of these were religious; and none were of especial literary value. The *Worcester Magazine* was devoted to local history. The *Literary Casket* was rather light. The *Supplement to the Connecticut Courant* contained miscellaneous matter similar to much that is found in the best of the Sunday dailies at the present time.

¹ For a "literary portrait" of Sprague, see the *New England Magazine*, iii., 89 (1832).

PHILADELPHIA.

"Philadelphia in 1800 was still the intellectual center of the nation."¹ By 1815 this prestige had been lost; but the city was still the home of much culture. The tone of its intellectual life differed from that of either New York or Boston, and was indeed somewhat peculiar. This can perhaps be inferred from the nature of the periodicals in the following list:

PHILADELPHIA MAGAZINES.

- 1817. The American Register, or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature.
- 1818. The Quarterly Theological Review.
The Latter Day Luminary.
- 1821. The Presbyterian Magazine.
The Literary Gazette, or Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts.
The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal.
(London, reprinted in Phila.)
- 1822. Museum of Foreign Literature.
- 1823. The American Sunday School Magazine.
The Christian Advocate.
- 1826. The Church Register.
Journal of the Franklin Institute.
The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette.
- 1827. American Quarterly Review.
The Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio.
The Souvenir.
The Casket; or Flowers of Literature, Wit, and Sentiment.
- 1828. The Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews.
The Register of Pennsylvania.
The Friend.
The Christian Magazine and Clerical Review.

¹ Adams, *History of the United States*, i., 117.

1830. Godey's Lady's Book.
The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register.
The Journal of Law.
The Journal of Health.
1832. The North American Magazine.
1833. Greenbank's Periodical Library.
The Select Circulating Library.

It was the Philadelphia idea that things should be done thoroughly and profoundly. The very sub-titles in the foregoing list—"*Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature*," "*Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts*," etc.—are indications of this spirit of thoroughness. Possibly Franklin was in part responsible for the disposition to cover the whole ground of knowledge, including science. The profundity of the *American Quarterly Review* has already been noted.¹ The *Quarterly Theological Review* printed nothing but reviews and a list of new publications—scorning all extraneous matter. There seemed to be a feeling that the best in the literature of the world should be made easily accessible to the inhabitants of the Quaker city. This is illustrated by the number of reprints—a form of publication almost peculiar to Philadelphia.² The various ladies' magazines were much like others of their class, though possibly they aimed a little more at instruction and less at amusement than was usual.

All these Philadelphia periodicals were filled, and on the whole ably filled, by local contributors. The average of the work done was very good; but the curse of respectable mediocrity was upon it all. Though there must have been in the city a considerable number of men of culture and some ability, hardly a name has survived to the present.

So long as commerce with the Mississippi valley was carried on by means of the Ohio river, Philadelphia was the center of

¹ Page 38.

² The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal; the Museum of Foreign Literature; the Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews; Greenbank's and Waldie's Libraries.

civilization for a great part of the west, and hence exercised a strong literary influence in this region.¹

BALTIMORE.

From a literary point of view, the only important city south of Philadelphia was Baltimore. This had long been a center of Roman Catholic wealth and culture,² and at this time it also contained a number of able protestant writers. The Delphian club was a literary organization which in 1818-19 issued a periodical known as the *Red Book*, of which John P. Kennedy was editor. Among the other members were John Neal, William Gwynn, Paul Allen, Jared Sparks, Robert Goodloe Harper, John Pierpont, Francis S. Key, Samuel Woodworth, and William Wirt.³

Neal and Pierpont were northern men who came to Baltimore to start a dry goods store, and it was here that the former wrote his remarkable series of novels.⁴ A little later he went to London. Pierpont's most famous work, the *Airs of Palestine*, was also composed in Baltimore just after the failure of the dry goods enterprise. Woodworth was also a northerner. Kennedy, a native of Baltimore, became prominent in politics later, serving as Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore. He wrote *Swallow Barn* in 1832, and *Horse-Shoe Robinson* in 1835.⁵

Another resident of Baltimore especially dear to the southern heart was Edward Coote Pinckney. He came of a distinguished southern family, his father having served as minister to the court of St. James. He entered the navy, but had to resign because he challenged his superior officer. For a time he

¹ Note how great a proportion of the books reviewed in the *Western Review*, Lexington, Ky., 1819-20, were published in Philadelphia.

² The *Metropolitan*, i., 31 (1830): "Baltimore has, not improperly, been styled the Rome of the United States; and, indeed, whether we consider the monuments of religion, rare and magnificent in their kind; or the splendour of the ceremonies of the church; or the number, and respectability, and wealth, and piety, of those who profess the Catholic Faith; there is no one who could question the justness of her claim, or attempt to deprive her of the glory of her title."

³ Scharf, *History of Baltimore*, 642.

⁴ See p. 46.

⁵ Manly, *Southern Literature*, 204; Beers, *Century of American Literature*, 124.

was professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres in the University of Maryland. Next he went to Mexico, in the hope of entering the Mexican navy and serving in the war against Spain; but before receiving his commission he killed a native officer in a duel, and was forced to flee from the country. He returned to Baltimore, in debt and suffering from disease, and died in 1828, at the age of 26. His remembered works are a few lyrics, notably "We break the glass," and, "I fill this cup to one made up of loveliness alone."¹

Baltimore periodicals of this time that have been examined are as follows:

BALTIMORE MAGAZINES.

- 1816. The Portico, a Repository of Science and Literature.
- 1822. The Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information.
- 1830. The Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine.

The *Portico* was published by Edward J. Coale, and numbered among its contributors Pinckney and Key. The *Theological Review* was edited by James Gray. It was protestant and non-sectarian, and according to the prospectus aimed "to take in literature and every other subject which operates directly upon the religious and moral opinions of the community."

Scharf's *History of Baltimore* mentions the following literary periodicals as established in the city during the years covered by this study:

The Itinerant, or Wesleyan Methodist Visitor, 1828, by Melville B. Cox. Bi-weekly.

The Mt. Hope Literary Gazette, "conducted by one of the students of that institution," 1830.

The Red Book, 1819.

The Emerald and Baltimore Literary Gazette, 1828.

The Minerva, 1829. United with the last preceding.

The National Magazine, or Ladies' Companion, a political

¹ Beers, *Century of American Literature*, 180; Esmeralda Boyle, *Biographical Sketches of Distinguished Marylanders*, 223.

and literary monthly, 1831; by Mrs. Mary Chase Barney, daughter of Samuel Chase.

OTHER CITIES IN THE SOUTH.

The South outside Baltimore may be dismissed almost with a word. Says Professor Baskervill:¹ "Before 1825 the physical and economic conditions of the southern states were such as to render the production of a southern literature a practical impossibility." This seems to have been literally true. The writers of the eighteenth century were still in vogue, and according to the eighteenth century fashion literature was looked upon as somewhat disreputable when chosen as a profession, though well enough as the recreation of a gentleman. For this reason, and because of the growing interest in sectional questions, young men of literary tastes drifted into politics, where they produced little of permanent worth. Simms is reported to have said: "No, sir, there never will be a literature worth the name in the southern states so long as their aristocracy remains based on so many head of negroes and so many bales of cotton."²

Poe and Simms both published volumes of verse in 1827, but there was no school of southern writers, and no literary center farther south than Baltimore. In the anthologies of southern literature, this period is represented by a few selections from Poe and the Baltimore writers, a stray lyric or two, like Henry Wilde's³ "My Life Is Like the Summer Rose," and by extracts from the speeches and writings of men loved in the South because of their connection with the lost cause—among them Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, and others.⁴

The number of periodicals issued in the South, outside of Baltimore, seems to have been small. The following have been examined:

¹ Publications Modern Language Association, vii., 33.

² *Ibid.*, 94.

³ Wilde was an Irishman by birth, and prominent in Georgia politics, serving some time in congress.

⁴ See Manly, *Southern Literature*. Duyckinck, and Stedman & Hutchinson mention hardly a familiar southern name that is not made familiar through politics rather than through literature—excepting of course the Baltimore writers.

SOUTHERN PERIODICALS.

- Charleston. 1817. The Sunday Visitant, or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge.
 1828. Southern Review.
 Richmond. 1818. The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine.
 Savannah. 1819. The Ladies' Magazine.
 Charlottesville. 1829. The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.
 Bethany, Va. 1830. The Millennial Harbinger.

Of these the most important was the *Southern Review*, which lasted but four years. The *Virginia Literary Museum*, etc., was a college publication.

THE WEST.

In contrast with the inactivity of the South was the interest taken in literary matters in the West. It is no doubt fortunate that economic and political conditions at this time forced emigration from New England rather than from other sections of the East. The descendants of the puritans combined a love of culture with their practical shrewdness, and, in spite of many "isms" and peculiarities, laid the foundation of what is best in the civilization of the West today. Schools and colleges were established wherever possible.¹ Cities and towns whose names are now almost unknown outside their own county aspired to be centers of letters and learning. The wide distribution of magazines is especially interesting:

WESTERN MAGAZINES.

- Lexington, Ky. 1820. Western Review.
 1829. The Transylvanian or Lexington Literary Journal.

¹ See page 6.

Cincinnati, O.	1824. The Cincinnati Literary Gazette.
	1828. Western Monthly Review.
	1829. Sentinel and Star in the West.
	1831. Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature and Science. ¹
	1833. Western Monthly Magazine.
Mt. Pleasant, O.	1817. The Philanthropist.
	1821. The Moral Advocate.
Lebanon, O.	1822. The Ohio Miscellaneous Museum.
New Richmond, O.	1824. The Columbian Historian.
Knoxville, Tenn.	1826. The Holston Messenger.
Oxford, O.	1827. The Literary Focus.
	1828. The Literary Register.
Rogersville, Tenn.	1827. The Calvinistic Magazine.
Vandalia, Ill.	1831. Illinois Monthly Magazine.
* ———	1832. The Harbinger of the Mississippi Valley. ²

Besides these journals, which have been examined by the writer, see the list in Venable's *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, partly given in Appendix C.

Raw and crude as the West was, there is a *fin de siècle* tone to these publications that is not found in the eastern magazines. The appeals for state aid to Transylvania University in 1821,³ with their abstract remarks on the value of culture, and their statistics of the money spent in the state by students, might, with the change of a few figures, be taken for a similar request to a legislature in 1897. It is possible to read a western magazine without recognizing the difficulties under which it was published, until one finds apologies for issues delayed because paper shipped from Pittsburg in November did not reach its destination until April,⁴ or until one reads an article like the following, entitled "*Literary Intelligence*:"⁵

¹ See Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, page 125.

² See note, p. 80.

³ *Western Review*, iv., 92.

⁴ *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, i., 283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i., 142, 144.

"We have not a great deal to say under this head; because new books are not remarkably abundant in Vandalia. Nor do we expect to be able, at any time, to throw much light upon the passing events of the literary world. But we intend to pick up all that we can. . . . A work entitled the '*Political Class Book*,' written by Mr. Sullivan, has lately been published at Boston: . . . We have not read it; but are informed that the style is pleasing, and well adapted to the subject."

The difficulties of communication made the western magazines all the more important to the residents of the West.

During the war and the years just following, Lexington, Kentucky, was the most prominent literary center west of the Alleghenies. This, it will be remembered, was the seat of Transylvania University; here were gathered a number of men of literary tastes. A literary magazine was established here as early as 1803.¹ *The Western Review*, by James Gibbs Hunt, was begun in 1819 and continued two years. This was well edited, not too ambitious, and is on the whole much more readable than most of its contemporaries. It contained, besides reviews and miscellaneous papers, articles on Indian antiquities, adventures among the Indians, anecdotes regarding the history of the West, and the geology, botany, etc., of Kentucky. Some of these were written by members of the faculty of Transylvania University, some by army officers stationed in the West. The review department was good, and its criticisms are an interesting reflection of western thought. It seems strange, even to one born and educated in the Mississippi valley, to read a review of *Don Juan* printed in the wilds of Kentucky only six months after the poem appeared. Among other works reviewed in the journal are *Mazeppa*, *The Sketch-Book*, and Halleck's *Fanny*.

A few years later Cincinnati made the loudest, and probably the most successful claim to be "The Athens of the West."

¹ The Medley. This very interesting journal continued but one year. Mr. Venable devotes several pages to this work in his *Literary Beginnings of the Ohio Valley*, and expresses the belief that the only copy extant is in the Lexington library. A complete volume, including twelve pages more than Venable ascribes to this copy, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The city had several newspapers, and some facilities for publishing books. Only New York, Boston, and Philadelphia can show a larger list of literary periodicals established between 1824 and 1833. The *Western Monthly Review* continued two years. In 1833 James Hall¹ issued the first number of the *Western Monthly Magazine*, a continuation of the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, which he had for two years been trying to keep alive at Vandalia. Shortly after 1833 there were several other magazines of interest. These received contributions from eastern as well as from western authors; in one, the reader is surprised to find a hitherto unpublished poem by Keats.

The two publications at Mt. Pleasant were devoted to reforms. The *Literary Focus* and the *Literary Register* were edited at Miami University. The *Illinois Monthly Magazine* was one of the most typical of the western journals. Vandalia was at this time the capital of Illinois, and was considered a city of great promise.

It was not to be expected that great works of literature would be produced under conditions like those that existed in the West during pioneer days. Probably the best that was written found its way into the magazines; though some books were published by westerners, and highly praised by both eastern and western reviewers. Among the most prolific authors was Timothy Flint, who wrote several sketches of western life. The student of to-day is chiefly interested in the fact that the West showed so quick and so keen an appreciation of the tendencies that have since become dominant in American literature.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITERATURE OF THE TIME.

The characteristics of the writings of these early years are not easy to summarize. It should always be borne in mind that these beginnings were not the product of one school or tendency in the mother country, but show the influence of every great English writer. The result was a good deal of a medley at first;

¹ Hiram W. Beckwith contributes a sketch of this pioneer of western letters to the *Chicago Tribune* for Sept. 8, 1895.

but the essential difference between English and American literature, so far as such a difference has existed in the last half century, is largely due to this fact.

In prose, aside from fiction, Irving set the fashion with a modification of the Addisonian type. In other words, he chose what was best in the English writings of the eighteenth century, and adapted it to the new conditions. Attempts at the same style are to be found almost everywhere.¹

Perhaps it was due to Addisonian influences, working through Irving, that the short stories of the day were so stale, flat, and unprofitable. Irving's bits of fiction seem to be mostly modifications of the Addisonian essay, rather than real stories. *Rip van Winkle* and *Sleepy Hollow* are exceptions to this statement, and it is because they are exceptions that they are the most popular of his sketches. Following the same impulse, many other writers produced stories equally dull, and not half so genially told. Either it is possible to tell after the first few paragraphs exactly how the story will end, or the reader is asked to follow a long series of strange occurrences, only to find that it is "all a dream."²

Not quite all short stories were of this sort. At this time appeared studies in the psychologically horrible, a type which, in the hands of Poe and Hawthorne, became very effective. There had been enough of the purely horrible before; Charles Brockden Brown, for one, was famous for his use of it; but a story like Dana's *Paul Felton*³ is entirely different from this. In the latter, the horrors are real, no matter how they are accounted for. The facts are stated, and the reader is left to choose between demoniacal possession and insanity, or—if he would get the strongest effect,—to think the one theory, and feel the other.

How this treatment originated is uncertain. Possibly it

¹ Take, for example, the papers in the *Talisman*.

² Illustrations may be found in any of the annuals; or, for an example that will not be too wearisome, see Bryant's early attempts at prose tales, reprinted in his collected works.

³ First published in *The Idle Man*.

came from the German;¹ but there seems very slight evidence of this. Possibly it came from contemporary England, by carrying out in prose what Coleridge hinted in verse. The writer inclines to the opinion that it was a natural American development from what had preceded. A literature of horrors seems to be a necessity. At times the mind craves something of the sort. Since the days of Walpole, horrors had been introduced without apparent explanation; or, in a few cases, had been explained at the end of the story in some matter-of-fact way. The former plan could not satisfy the business-like American, with his increasing sense of scientific laws; the latter was flat. One course or the other seemed necessary so long as a physical explanation was sought for, but a psychological treatment obviated all difficulties. Perhaps the renewed interest in philosophy, and possibly something in the characteristics of the American mind, should be taken into account.

Longer prose fiction was generally patterned after Scott. Those who had not originality enough to follow Scott directly took Cooper's Americanized version as their model.

Epics do not seem to have been attempted much, perhaps because they would take too much time. Dramas, however, were common enough. Classical subjects seem to have had the preference. The verse is almost uniformly bad, owing, Bryant thinks, in the case of Hillhouse, to the influence of Milton;² more probably to the extreme artificiality of everything connected with these productions. Hillhouse and Pickering wrote some of the dramas that were most favorably received. Payne, less ambitious and more practical, actually prepared plays for the stage. From one of these, *Clari* (1823), comes *Home Sweet Home*—almost the only thing from the pens of these would-be dramatists that has survived.³

¹ Brandl, *Life of Coleridge*, page 166, remarks that horrors continued popular in the drama between 1790 and 1800, but that there were fewer robbers, ghosts, tyrants, etc., and more inward convulsions of soul. This the author thinks was due in part to the revolution, when executions were of daily occurrence.

² *North American Review*, xi., 384.

³ Others who wrote plays were Clinch, Ingersoll, Morris, and Woodworth.

In lyric and elegiac poems the eclectic tendency operated most strongly, and all kinds of treatment were attempted. The fugitive verses in the magazines show the influence of Moore or of Byron, especially of such lighter work as the *Hebrew Melodies*. A common class of subjects was drawn from the idealized life of the Indians. The couplet of Pope was affected at first, but when an author escaped from it he rarely used it again.

Though Halleck and others may have been more generally read, Bryant probably had more influence than any other native poet. In *Thanatopsis* and the *Forest Hymn* he came nearer than any one else to the creation of a national style of blank verse.¹ His influence united with that of Wordsworth in inspiring a love for nature in its more simple and quiet forms.

In the *Buccaneer*, Dana obviously takes a hint from Coleridge, and the music of the poem seems at times to echo Keats. Others of his poems at this time show traces of Wordsworth and Cowper. Dana was also a conscious artist in verse, though he began to write rather late in life.² In the preface to the first edition of his poems (1827) he pleads for liberty of versification, and comments on the monotony of Scott.³

CLOSE OF THE PERIOD.

The close of the period under discussion is marked by no such definite date as is the beginning; yet between the years 1830 and 1835 a change came over the spirit of the country. In these years occurred the revolutions in France, Poland, and Belgium, and the dissemination of the spirit of which they were the outcome—a spirit which in England took a different shape, and resulted in the passage of the reform bill and the abolition of slavery. Closely connected with this political upheaval was the

¹ Bryant was a close student of the technique of poetry. As early as 1815 he wrote an essay on Trisyllabic Feet in English Verse, which [was later published in the *North American Review*. His criticisms of poetry always comment on versification.

² His first poem, *The Dying Crow*, was written in 1825, when he was 38 years of age. At Bryant's suggestion the title was changed to *The Dying Raven*, as it now stands. The *Buccaneer* was completed in 1826 or 1827.

³ See also several of his letters to Bryant.

awakening of religious interest, which in England gave rise to the Tractarian movement, and in this country to emotional revivals in the west, and a little later to Transcendentalism in New England. Of English writers, Byron, Scott, and Coleridge were dead, and although Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson and Browning had begun their work, there was a pause in the course of English literature until the new men established their positions. At this time, too, German influence was becoming strongly felt.

At home the political and social influence of the rapidly-growing west came into prominence. The questions of finance and slavery, which had been getting more and more troublesome since the early twenties, took a serious form. At this time came forward most of that group of writers who were associated with the *Atlantic* in its early days, and whose names still hold the first place in American literature. All the more prominent of these, except Lowell, received their formative training in this early period, and put forth some writings before its close.

The year 1833 has been chosen to end the period of this study, because it stands midway between the old order of things and the new. No sacredness attaches to it, and any other between 1830 and 1835 might almost as well be chosen. Professor Beers in his recent work makes one period end with 1835, and in a continuous study of American literature this has its advantages.

CONCLUSION.

It was the mission of the writers in the period that has been considered to learn the lessons that the old world had to teach, to catch the spirit of a new national life, and so to transmit to their successors, in practical working form, what they had learned by unaided experience. It mattered little whether their own works endured or not, so long as they did this well.

No abrupt line of demarcation separates this period from the one that succeeds. Bryant lived, wrote, and exercised a strong influence, almost to the present generation; and Irving and Cooper did not cease writing until most members of the early

Atlantic group had made their reputations. On the other hand, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, and others were writing before 1833—publishing in the better magazines, and coming under the influence of editors and older contributors.

Longfellow tells us that the *Sketch-Book* was his one first book. In spite of the strong personalities of Hawthorne, Holmes, and Lowell, the student of their lives and works feels that they all owe something to Irving. Bryant's early devotion to nature may be traced in different forms in Whittier and Lowell.¹ The indebtedness of Hawthorne and Poe to Dana in one particular has been noticed above.

To trace in detail the effects of these early labors would require a discussion of all that has been written in America to the present day. This study has done all that was intended, if it has shown that the writers from 1815 to 1833, having received little from their predecessors, bequeathed to those who followed, the beginnings of a continuous development in American literature. The question of how the next generation received this legacy, how it adapted to new conditions the tendencies and usages that have been discussed, how it profited by both successes and failures—all this cannot be considered here.

It would be useless to speculate on what these pioneers, as individuals, might have done had they lived at a later time, or on what might have been the result had abler men occupied their places. Some things that they transmitted to their successors worked for evil; but these came largely from the tendencies of the times; and instead of complaining that their work might have been better done, we should rather congratulate our country that on the whole it was done so well.

Both authors and works have met their fate. The very names of some who were most active are now known only to the student. Even Irving and Cooper may be taking their places with the authors who, though much praised, are little read. It would

¹ Lowell always spoke rather slightly of this period. He was almost the only writer of the Atlantic group who was ungracious—or unconscious—enough to deny his obligations.

be absurd to deify these men, or to attempt to force them on the public of today; but it should not be forgotten that from their half-amusing, half-pathetic struggles came tendencies and influences that have lasted till the present time, and without which our best achievements in literature would have been possible only by a miracle.

APPENDIX A.

Periodicals, Indexed in Poole, Founded between 1815 and 1833.

- 1815-¹ Boston—North American Review.
 1818-40 New York—(American) Methodist Magazine.
 1819-23 Boston—Christian Disciple.
 1819- New York—American Journal of Science.
 1819-28 New Haven—Christian Monthly Spectator.
 1820-21 Lexington, Ky.—Western Review.
 1822-42 Philadelphia—Museum of Foreign Literature (Littell's).
 1824-69 Boston—Christian Examiner.
 1825-33 New York—American Annual Register.
 1825-27 Boston—U. S. Literary Gazette.
 1825-26 Boston—Boston Monthly Magazine.
 1826- Philadelphia—Journal of the Franklin Institute.²
 1826 Worcester—Worcester Magazine.
 1827-37 Philadelphia—American Quarterly Review.
 1828-32 Charleston—Southern Review.
 1828-33 Boston—Spirit of the Pilgrims.
 1828-30 Cincinnati—Western Monthly Review.
 1829-43 Andover—American Quarterly Register.³
 1829-38 New Haven—Christian Quarterly Spectator.
 1829-71 Princeton—Princeton Review.

¹ The two dates indicate the continuance of the magazine. All are now defunct except the North American Review, the American Journal of Science, and the Journal of the Franklin Institute. The Worcester Magazine lived but a single year.

² This Journal underwent several slight changes of name. It is the direct descendant of the American Mechanic's Magazine, conducted by Associated Mechanics, New York, 1825. The latter is not in Poole. It was continued in Philadelphia as the Franklin Journal and American Mechanic's Magazine, in 1826. See Bolton, Catalogue of Scientific and Technical Periodicals, for subsequent changes.

³ This is the date given by Poole. The first number was for July, 1827. The paging is consecutive to and including the number for April, 1829, and the title-page bears date 1829. In tables in the text, the year 1827 is taken, as this was the real date of founding.

- 1830-61 Boston—American Almanac.
1831-50 New York—American Biblical Repository.
1831-48 Boston—American Institute of Instruction.
1831-32 Vandalia, Ill.—Illinois Monthly Magazine.
1831-35 Boston—New England Magazine.
1832-33 Boston—American Monthly Review.
1833-38 New York—American Monthly Magazine.
1833-34 Boston—American Quarterly Observer.
1833-64 New York—Knickerbocker Magazine.
1833-34 Boston—Select Journal.
1833-36 Cincinnati—Western Monthly Magazine.

APPENDIX B.

Periodicals not in Poole, Founded between 1815 and 1833.

1815. Cambridge—The Friend of Peace. By Philo Pacificus. Quarterly (irregular).
1815. Albany—The Christian Visitant. Non-sectarian. Weekly.
1816. Meadville, Pa.—The Alleghany Magazine, or Repository of Useful Knowledge. By Rev. Timothy Alden. Monthly.
1816. Baltimore—The Portico, a Repository of Science and Literature. "Conducted by two men of Padua." Monthly.
1816. New York—The Christian Herald. Edited by John E. Caldwell. Weekly.
1816. New York—The Christian Register and Moral and Theological Review. Edited by the Rev. Thos. Y. How, D. D., Asst. Rector of Trinity Church. Semi-annual.
1817. Boston—The Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines. Semi-Monthly. (After 1832, — or Spirit of English Literature and Fashion.)
1817. Boston—The New England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine. Weekly.
1817. New York—The Weekly Visitor and Ladies' Museum. Weekly.¹
1817. New York—The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review. H. Biglow, Esq., editor and proprietor. Monthly.
1817. New York—The Christian Journal and Literary Register. Semi-monthly. (Episcopalian.)

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1817. New York—The Evangelical Guardian and Review. By an association of clergymen in New York. Monthly. Discontinued at end of Vol. II.¹
1817. Philadelphia—The American Register, or Summary Review of History, Politics, and Literature. (Conducted by Robert Walsh, Jun., Esq.). Semi-annual.
1817. Mt. Pleasant, O.—The Philanthropist. By Chas. Osborn. Weekly.
1817. Charleston—The Sunday Visitant, or Weekly Repository of Christian Knowledge. By A. Fowler, A. M. Weekly.
1818. Philadelphia—The Quarterly Theological Review; conducted by the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, A. M. Quarterly.
1818. Philadelphia—The Latter Day Luminary; by a committee of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the U. S. Quarterly (irregular).
1818. Boston—The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer. (New Series.) Published under the direction of the Baptist Missionary Society in Massachusetts. Committee of Editors, Thos. Baldwin, Daniel Sharp, J. M. Winchell. Bimonthly.¹
1818. Portsmouth, N. H.—The Christian Herald. By Robert Foster. Monthly.¹
1818. Richmond—The Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine. Edited by John H. Rice. Monthly. (In 1824 title changed to Literary and Evangelical Magazine.)
1819. New York—The Ladies' Literary Cabinet. Edited by Samuel Woodworth. Weekly.
1819. Savannah—The Ladies' Magazine. Weekly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1820. New York—The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review. (Edited by Col. Gardner.) Quarterly.
1821. Philadelphia—The Presbyterian Magazine. Edited by Wm. Neill, D. D., with the assistance of a number of literary gentlemen. Monthly. (Continued after Vol. ii. as The Christian Advocate.)¹
1821. Philadelphia—The Literary Gazette, or Journal of Criticism, Science and the Arts, being a collection of original and selected essays. Weekly.
1821. Philadelphia—The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. London, republished by E. Littell, Phila., and R. Norris Henry, N. Y. Monthly. (After 6th Vol., published by Cummings, Hillard & Co., Boston, press of the North American Review. Vols. 5 and 6 same press, but published by Oliver Everett, Boston.)
1821. Hartford—The Religious Inquirer. Published by an Association of Gentlemen, containing doctrinal, controversial, historical, and practical matter, and articles of religious intelligence and miscellany. Edited by Rev. Richard Carrique. Bi-weekly. (Universalist.)
1821. Mt. Pleasant, O.—The Moral Advocate, a monthly publication on war, duelling, capital punishments, and prison discipline. By Elisha Bates. Monthly.¹
1822. New York—The Minerva. (In 1824 becomes The Minerva, or Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal. Edited by George Houston and James G. Brooks.) Weekly.
1822. New Haven—The Pilgrim, or Monthly Visitor. Monthly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1822. Baltimore—The Theological Review and General Repository of Religious and Moral Information. Edited by James Gray, D. D. Quarterly.
1822. Utica, N. Y.—The Utica Christian Repository, containing various pieces on doctrinal and practical subjects of religion, mostly original, also a summary of missionary intelligence. Monthly.
1822. Lebanon, O.—The Ohio Miscellaneous Museum. Monthly. (No title-page.)
1823. Philadelphia. The American Sunday School Magazine. Monthly.¹
1823. Boston—The Boston Medical Intelligencer. Weekly.¹
1823. Philadelphia—The Christian Advocate; being a continuation of the Presbyterian Magazine. Conducted by Ashabel Green, D. D. (Suspended at end of 12th volume, 1834.)
1823. New York—The New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette: being a repository of miscellaneous literary productions in prose and verse. Edited by Samuel Woodworth. Weekly.
1823. Montreal—The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository. Monthly. (Closed with 4th vol.) (A MS. note in library copy speaks of this as "published by the late Mr. Turner"—evidently meaning that he was the editor.)
1824. New York—The Atlantic Magazine. Monthly.
1824. New York—The Telescope. Published by Wm. Burnett & Co. Weekly. (Religious, undenominational.)
1824. Hartford—The Evangelist, a monthly publication devoted to subjects connected with experimental and practical religion. Monthly.
1824. Providence—The Christian Telescope; edited by Rev. David Pickering, Providence, R. I. Quarterly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

- (Changed to Christian Telescope and Anti-Theocrat at the beginning of the 3d volume.)
1824. Washington—The United States' Naval Chronicle; by Chas. W. Goldsborough. Annual (?).
1824. Hudson, N. Y.—The Rural Repository, or semi-monthly entertaining and amusing journal; containing a variety of original and select articles, arranged under the following heads: Popular Tales, Biography, Traveller, Miscellaneous Communications, Poetry, etc. Published by Wm. B. Stoddard. Bi-weekly.
1824. Cincinnati—The Cincinnati Literary Gazette. Published by John P. Foote. Weekly. (Pub. 1824-5.)
1824. New Richmond, O.—The Columbian Historian. Weekly (irregular). (No title-page.)
1824. Montreal—The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal. (Edited by Mr. Chisholme. Only five numbers published.) Quarterly (irregular).
1825. Washington—The African Repository and Colonial Journal. Published by order of the managers of the American Colonization society. Monthly.¹
1826. Philadelphia—The Church Register; devoted to the interests of religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Edited by the Rev. Geo. Waller. Weekly.
1826. Philadelphia—The Album and Ladies' Weekly Gazette. By Thos. C. Clarke. Weekly.
1826. Hartford. The Literary Casket; devoted to literature, the arts and sciences. Semi-monthly.
1826. Hartford—Supplement to The Connecticut Courant. Bi-weekly.¹
1826. Boston—American Journal of Education. (Edited by William Russell. Monthly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1826. Knoxville, Tenn.—The Holston Messenger; by Thos. Stringfield. (Methodist.) Monthly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio. Edited by Robert Morris. Weekly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Souvenir. Weekly.¹
1827. Philadelphia—The Casket; or Flowers of Literature, Wit and Sentiment. By Saml. C. Atkinson. Monthly. (Continued as Graham's, 1841.)
1827. Auburn, N. Y.—The Gospel Messenger. Edited by John C. Rudd. (Episcopal). Weekly.
1827. Oxford, O.—The Literary Focus; edited by the Erodelphian and Union Literary Societies, Miami University. Monthly.¹
1827. Rogersville, T.—The Calvinistic Magazine, conducted by James Gallaher, Frederick A. Ross, and David Nelson. Monthly.
1827. Montreal—The Christian Sentinel and Anglo-Canadian Churchman's Magazine. Bi-Monthly. (Seems to succeed The Canadian Magazine, Church of England.)
1827. New York—The Olive Branch. Published weekly by the New York Universalist Book Society.
1828. New York—The Atlas; a select literary and historical periodical. Weekly.
1828. Philadelphia—The Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews. Edited by Rev. Geo. Weller. Monthly. (Only 4 vols. published.)
1828. Philadelphia—The Register of Pennsylvania, devoted to the preservation of facts and documents and other kinds of useful information respecting the State of Pennsylvania. Edited by Samuel Hazard. Weekly.

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1828. Philadelphia—The Friend, or Advocate of Truth; A Religious Publication. (Quaker.) Monthly, in 1828, semi-monthly in 1829, weekly in 1830.
1828. New York—The Critic; A Weekly Review of Literature, Fine Arts, and the Drama. Edited by Wm. Leggett. Weekly.
1828. New York—The Cabinet of Instruction, Literature and Amusement; containing original essays, extracts from new works, historical narratives, biographical memoirs, sketches of society, topographical descriptions, novels and tales, anecdotes, poetry, original and selected, The Spirit of the Public Journals, discoveries in the arts and sciences, useful domestic hints, &c., &c., &c. Semi-monthly. (This becomes in volume v. The Cabinet of Religion, Education, Literature, Science, and Intelligence; edited by Rev. John Newland Maffett. Vols. ii. and iii. weekly.)
1828. Boston. The Yankee, and Boston Literary Gazette. Edited by John Neal and James W. Miller. Weekly.¹
1828. Boston—The Ladies' Magazine and Literary Gazette. Edited by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. Monthly.¹
1828. Washington—The Washington Theological Repository and Churchman's Guide. (New Series. First series begun in 1819?) (Episcopalian. Under control of the Education Society of Virginia and Maryland. Discontinued in 1830.) Monthly.
1828. Worcester—The Worcester Talisman. By Dorr & Howland. Bi-weekly. (No title-page.)
1828. Oxford, O.—The Literary Register. Edited by the Professors of the Miami University. (Weekly.) (To be continued by C. A. Ward and W. W. Bishop after first volume.)¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1828. Philadelphia—The Christian Magazine and Clerical Review. Edited by Rev. Benjamin and Thos. G. Allen. Weekly.
1828. New York—The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal. Edited by Rev. Absalom Peters, Cor. Sec. of the American Home Missionary Society. Monthly.¹
1828. New York—The Free Enquirer. (Second Series.) Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen, conducting editors. Weekly.¹
1828. New York—The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal. Published by the American Seamen's Friend Society. Monthly.¹
1829. Rochester—The Rochester Gem: a Semi-monthly Literary and Miscellaneous Journal, devoted to polite literature, history, biography, essays, poetry, morality, sentiment, wit, &c., &c. Semi-monthly.¹
1829. Charlottesville—The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c. Edited at the University of Virginia. Weekly.
1829. Cincinnati—The Sentinel and Star in the West. Edited by J. Kidwell, J. C. Waldo, and S. Tizzard. Weekly. (Universalist.)
1829. Lexington, Ky.—The Transylvanian, or Lexington Literary Journal. Monthly.
1830. Philadelphia—Godey's Lady's Book. Monthly.¹
1830. Philadelphia—The Protestant Episcopalian and Church Register, devoted to the interests of religion in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Edited by an Association of Clergymen. Monthly. (Seems to succeed the Church Register, a weekly; See above, 1826.)

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1830. Philadelphia—The Journal of Law, conducted by an Association of members of the bar. Bi-weekly.¹
1830. Philadelphia—The Journal of Health. Conducted by an Association of Physicians. Bi-weekly.¹
1830. Boston—The Mechanics' Magazine and Journal of Public Internal Improvement; devoted to the useful arts and the recording of projects, inventions and discoveries of the age. Monthly.
1830. Boston—American Annals of Education and Instruction. Edited by Wm. C. Woodbridge. Monthly. (A continuation of the American Journal of Education.)
1830. Utica—The Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate; devoted to theoretical and practical religion, free inquiry, religious liberty, and intelligence. Aaron B. Grosh, editor; Abner R. Bartlett, asst. editor; G. W. Montgomery and E. H. Chapin, corresponding editors. (This list of editors taken from volume ix., new series.) Weekly.¹
1830. Baltimore—The Metropolitan, or Catholic Monthly Magazine. Monthly.
1830. Bethany, Va.—The Millennial Harbinger. Edited by Alexander Campbell. (Campbellite.) Monthly. (No title-page.)
1831. Boston—The Boston Pearl, a Gazette of Polite Literature devoted to original tales, legends, essays, translations, travelling, literary and historical sketches, biography, poetry, criticisms, music, etc. Edited by Isaac C. Pray, Jun. Weekly.¹
1831. Cincinnati—The Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature, Science and the Arts; conducted by Wm. D. Gallagher and T. H. Shreve. Weekly.¹
1832. Philadelphia—The North American Magazine. Edited by Sumner Lincoln Fairfield. Monthly.¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

1832. New York—The Spirit of Practical Godliness. Monthly.
1832. New York—American Railroad Journal and Mechanic's Magazine. (Semi-monthly in 1837; weekly at first?)¹
1832. Boston—The Family Lyceum. Conducted by Josiah Holbrook. Weekly.
1832. Albany—The Temperance Recorder; devoted exclusively to the cause of temperance. Published monthly by the executive committee of the New York State Temperance Society.
1832. Steubenville—The Sabbath School Magazine. Bi-monthly.¹
1832. ———²—The Harbinger of the Mississippi Valley. Monthly (?)¹
1832. New York—The New York and Richmond County Free Press. By William Hagadorn. Devoted to foreign and domestic news, politics and miscellany. Weekly.
1833. New York—The Mechanics' Magazine and Register of Inventions and Improvements. Monthly.
1833. Philadelphia—Greenbank's Periodical Library, containing in the cheapest possible form a republication of new and standard works. Weekly.
1833. Philadelphia—The Select Circulating Library, containing the best popular literature, including memoirs, biography, novels, tales, travels, voyages, &c. Weekly.
1833. Boston—The People's Magazine. Bi-weekly.
1833. New York—The Family Magazine, or General Abstract of Useful Knowledge; embellished with several hundred engravings. Weekly.¹

¹ Date of founding determined from a later issue. First number not accessible.

² But one number of this periodical has been found, and investigation has thus far failed to show the place of publication. It was probably somewhere in Kentucky.

1833. Rochester—Youth's Companion and Western New York Sabbath-School Advocate. Bi-weekly.
1833. Hudson, N. Y.—The Magnolia, or Literary Tablet; devoted to literature, moral and sentimental tales, poetry, &c., &c. Semi-monthly. (Suspended publication Sept. 20, 1834.)
1833. Washington—The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States. Edited by Benjamin Homans. Monthly.

APPENDIX C.

Miscellaneous Lists of Periodicals.

The following are supposed to have been of literary character, but are not included in the tables in the body of the paper because they have not been examined by the writer:

The Weekly Cadet, a weekly started at Cincinnati in 1819. Merged in the Western Spy in less than six months.¹

The Olio, Cincinnati, 1821-2. Published and edited by John H. Wood and Sam S. Brooks.²

The National Preacher. New York. Vol. i., 1826. Original sermons by living preachers.³

The Focus, established in 1826 at Louisville, Ky., by W. W. Worsley and Dr. Jos. Buchanan. Merged in the Louisville Journal.⁴

The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine. A prospectus announced this magazine to appear in October, 1828, but the magazine has not been found. Did it appear?

The Green Mountain Repository; Vol. i., 1832.⁵

The following are given by Venable, Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, page 124. Some of them did not contain a very great proportion of literary matter; of most, the writer has been able to learn nothing.

The Literary Pamphleteer. Paris, Kentucky, 1823.

The Western Censor. Indianapolis, 1823-4.

The Western Luminary. Lexington, Kentucky, 1824.

The Microscope. Louisville, Kentucky, 1824. Weekly.

¹ See Venable, Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, 66.

² Ibid., 66.

³ In Chicago Public Library.

⁴ See Venable, Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley, 40.

⁵ In Newberry Library, Chicago.

The Western Minerva. F. and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826.

New Harmony Gazette. Robert Owen, New Harmony, Indiana, 1825.

Transylvania Literary Journal. By Prof. Thos. J. Mathews, Lexington, Kentucky, 1829. (A college paper.)

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburg Literary Gazette, 1828. Weekly.

The Shield. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182-. Weekly.

The Ladies' Museum. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830.

The Olive Branch. Circleville, Ohio, 1832. Bi-monthly.

The National Historian. Horton J. Howard, St. Clairsville, Ohio.

The Literary Cabinet. Thos. Gregg, St. Clairsville, Ohio, 1833.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. Albert Pickett, Cincinnati, 1833. Monthly.

The Lexington Literary Journal. John Clark, Lexington, Ky., 1833.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Kaleidoscope. Nashville, Tenn., 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, Ohio, 1833.

The following are mentioned as exchanges by The Magnolia, October, 1833. The date at which they were founded is not known; but it is not probable that any of them dated back of 1815:

The Parthenon, or Academians' Magazine. Monthly, 64pp. \$2.50 per annum, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

The Literary Inquirer, published semi-monthly under the patronage of the Buffalo Lyceum, Buffalo, N. Y., at \$1.50 per annum.

The Literary Register and Miscellaneous Magazine, published semi-monthly at Elyria, Lorain Co., Ohio, at \$1 per annum.

The Amaranth, published semi-monthly, in East Bridgewater, Mass., at \$1 per annum.

The Gem, published semi-monthly in Rochester, N. Y., at \$1.50 per annum.

Parley's Magazine, Boston, \$1 per annum.

The Pearl and Literary Gazette, Hartford, \$2 per annum.

The American Quarterly Register for October, 1828, gives a list of 38 religious magazines in the United States, and says that there are probably 10 or 12 more published.¹ Considering the average life of a periodical it is probable that most of these had been started after 1815. Those not noted in one of the preceding lists are as follows:

Middlebury, Vt.—Episcopal Register.

Keene, N. H.—Liberal Preacher.

Boston—Missionary Herald.

Boston—Baptist Preacher.

Boston—Sunday School Treasury.

Providence—Hopkinsian Magazine.

New Haven—Guardian and Monitor.

New York—American Tract Magazine.

New York—National Preacher.

New York—Youth's Magazine.

Schoharie, N. Y.—Lutheran Magazine.

New Brunswick—Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church.

Princeton—Biblical Repertory.²

Philadelphia—Youth's Friend.

Philadelphia—United Brethren Missionary Int.²

Philadelphia—Baptist Tract Magazine.

Philadelphia—Penn. and Del. Tract Magazine.³

Milton, Pa.—Religious Farmer.³

Carlisle, Pa.—Magazine of German Reformed Church.

Frederick, Md.—Evangelical Lutheran Int.

Fayetteville, N. C.—Evangelical Museum.

Fayetteville, N. C.—Presbyterian Preacher.

Zanesville, O.—Western Religious Magazine.

For a list of Baltimore magazines not examined see page 58.

¹ In the same connection the editor says: "The whole number of religious newspapers published in the United States is not far from forty."

² Quarterly ³ Semi-monthly; all others monthly.

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By far the most important source of material for this study was the periodicals given in Appendices A and B. The following list contains some of the books that have been consulted most freely, and from which most help has been gained. It has not been thought necessary to include histories of the United States, which have been useful so far as they treat of this period; or histories of states, counties, and cities; or well-known works of literary history and criticism. An attempt has been made to give credit in the foot-notes for specific information obtained from such sources.

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THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN THE POETRY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

(EXCLUSIVE OF COMEDY.)

BY

KATHARINE ALLEN.

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ERRATA.

Page 96, line 7, " Sky " is omitted from headings.

Page 97, line 6, for "*celeris* " read "*celer.*"

Page 120, line 23, heading, for " ght " read " Night."

Page 153, line 33 (also page 154, line 12; page 191, lines 4, 8, 11), for "*Favonus*" read "*Favonius.*"

Page 156, line 21, for "*maeriae*" read "*materiae.*"

THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN THE POETRY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

INTRODUCTION.

In his introduction to "*Ueber die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*" (1865), Heinrich Motz expressed the feeling that so much had already been written on this subject by so many scholars, that to add more was "to come with an Iliad after Homer."

If apology was necessary for writing on this general theme thirty years ago, it would seem to be doubly necessary at the present time, for the works dealing with it since the time of Motz have been quite as numerous and as important as those preceding him. Yet these works, like their predecessors, are all of a more or less general character. Even Biese, who in "*die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen und Römern*," has treated the whole subject in a manner far more thorough and comprehensive than any one else, cannot, within the limits of one small volume, have exhausted it. Many of his conclusions have been put forward both before and since his time, and in their general statement there can be little difference of opinion. It is in matters of detail that there is still room for work within this field.

A few points may be regarded as settled for Roman literature as a whole:

1. That the Roman wrote less of nature for her own sake than does the modern poet.

2. That the aspects of nature which especially attracted the Roman were not, in all cases, the same as those which most appeal to the modern mind.

3. That certain phases of enjoyment in and feeling for nature, commonly expressed in the poetry of today, are more rarely expressed in Roman poetry.

It will be the aim of this paper to investigate in detail, for the poets of a single well-defined period, that of the Roman Republic, how far and in what particulars the foregoing statements are actually true, and to add what new generalizations may be made for this special period of Roman poetry.

In the case of each poet must be studied:

(1.) His method of using each form of nature (sky, sea, mountains, etc.) in illustration, in simile, and in metaphor.

(2.) What aspects of each he represented in addition to what may appear in the foregoing figures—(as calm or stormy sea, green or rugged mountains, etc.).

(3 and 4.) What epithets are used and what figurative expressions, in describing each form of nature (links between 2 and 5).

(5.) To what extent natural objects and forces are endowed with life, or with the attributes of personality, the view of nature which merges on one side in the mythological, on the other in the sympathetic or sentimental conception.

(6.) What type of feeling and appreciation for nature is traceable in the writer's way of using and representing her various forms. Is it merely an appreciation of the utility or non-utility of nature to man implied in such references as "fertile fields," "gold-bearing rivers," "barren mountains"? Is it a sense of her grandeur and mystery such as appears in Byron's:

Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll!

Is it a purely aesthetic appreciation of her beauty, such as the artist might feel, such as Tennyson expresses in

The long low dune, and lazy-plunging sea,

and, more elaborately, in the opening lines of *Oenone*. Is it, finally, a sense of sympathy between man and nature,

the endowing of nature with a soul in which the human soul sees itself reflected? This last, and most characteristically modern feeling for nature may be shown merely in the use made of nature to enhance the emotional effect of a scene, where nature is represented in a mood corresponding with the human mood which the poet wishes to represent, or to call forth in the reader, as when King Arthur in *The Last Tournament*, returning to his deserted home, enters its portals

All in a death-dumb, autumn-dripping gloom.

Or when as Eustace goes to court the gardener's daughter,

All the land in flowery squares

Beneath a broad and equal-blowing wind,

Smelt of the coming summer.

Or this feeling may be more definitely and personally expressed, as in Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*.

Of necessity these feelings all merge more or less in each other, no hard and fast line can be drawn, and analysis must seem often unduly subjective. To tell where the personalizing of nature's forces ends and mythology begins is not always possible; to tell where the personalizing of nature ceases to be purely objective, and where the subjective emotional element of comparison begins is often difficult. The first step in the development of this feeling for nature is the noting of external resemblances between the activities of man and nature. Nature is illustrated from man, or man from nature. Next, nature is herself personalized, her actions and manifestations are described in the terms of human activity, and, as the last step, nature is endowed with human emotions as well as activities, the human soul places its own impress upon nature and feels that with it and for it nature can rejoice or grieve.

The meagreness of the remains of much of the early poetry, precludes the possibility of making a profitable study of the successive development of any one sort, and it is obviously valueless to try to trace such development,

chronologically, through poetry of so many varieties, tragic, epic, satiric, lyric, didactic, as flourished at one time and another before the Augustan age. That Lucretius shows a deeper feeling for nature than does Lucilius, is in such connection entirely without significance. Each poet must be studied individually, and general characteristics for the Republican period, if there be such, may then be deduced. The line of demarcation between the Republic and the Empire is so distinct, the influence of the times upon the literature so quickly seen in other respects, that this boundary line for the present investigation is more real than is always the case in attempted chronological partitions.

CHAPTER I.

PRE-CICERONIAN PERIOD.*

From a study of the earliest Roman poetry no entirely trustworthy conclusions can be reached. The fragmentary nature of the material, the very small number of the fragments in many cases, the loss of much of the Greek poetry which lay behind the Roman, are responsible for this. By the first of these conditions the value of negative results in particular is lessened; by the second, generalization is often made impossible; owing to the third, the distinction between the truly Roman and the borrowed is difficult.

It will be necessary while recognizing all this, however, to treat each poet as if complete and independent, and the fact that different poets do, as a matter of fact, even in their fragmentary condition, show some widely different characteristics, makes the result of such an investigation at any rate interesting, if not entirely reliable from the point of view of statistics.

Five of the earliest Roman poets wrote tragedy, and while most of these wrote other kinds of poetry also, it will be most interesting to consider and compare them as writers of tragedy, so far as this is possible. For this reason, Lucilius, who, chronologically considered, should precede Accius, has been left to follow him.

Roman tragedy probably has less claim to originality than any other branch of Roman literature. To make a

*The material furnished by comedy is so insignificant that it has seemed best to omit it, and it is with some hesitancy that Lucilius has been included.

thorough investigation of its relations even to its extant Greek sources, is outside the scope of this paper, yet some very general conclusions may be reached as to their mutual relations, even by a superficial comparison.

In treating the various aspects of nature referred to by each poet, a uniform order has been maintained for convenience's sake, the succession being sky, sea, streams, mountains, woods, plants, animals. Under each of these heads are treated in order, figurative use, literal representations, epithets, and figurative representations. In some writers one or more of these divisions is unrepresented. A general estimate of the poet's feeling and attitude toward nature follows the detailed treatment in each case.

1. LIVIUS ANDRONICUS.¹

One-fifth² of the seventy-three fragments of Livius deal with phenomena of nature. Of these the majority are found in the tragedies (a proportion of one-third), the sea being the only form of nature better represented in the translation of the *Odyssey*.

The melting of ice in spring is figuratively used:

praestatur laus virtuti, sed multo ocius
verno gelu tabescit (R. Liv. 16).

Sea

The sea appears as a region of dreariness and desolation, in connection with mountains and desert places:

celsosque (in) ocris
. . . arvaque putria³ et mare magnum (R. 32),

and as the cruel enemy of man (B. Liv. 22).⁴

¹ Tragedy is cited (by verse) from "*Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*," Ribbeck, 1897 (R). For other works, citations are from the "*Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*," Baehrens, 1886 (B).

² Figures for the number and proportions of fragments are in every case merely approximate.

³ Cf. B. 18 *arvaque Neptuni*. References to ships occur B. 10; 28; 43.

Its epithets describe size, life, and violence: *altus* (B. 43); *inportunus* (*unda* B. 22); *magnus* (R. 33); *saevos* (B. 22).

Once it is distinctly personalized:

namque nullum plus corpus macerat humanum
quamde mare saevom: vires cui sunt magnae,
topper
confringent infortunae undae (B. 22).⁴

The one extant fragment of the *Andromeda* describes the flood by which Neptune punished the arrogance of Cassiopea:

Streams

confluges ubi conventu campum totum inumigant (R. 18),

and the fountain of Castalia is described with a touch of picturesqueness:

quo Castalia per struices saxeas lapsu accidit (R. 37).

Mountains are represented only as high, *altus* (R. 31), *celsus* (R. 34), and rugged, *ocris* (R. 31; 32; 34; 35). Twice Greek mountains are mentioned by name: Taenarus (R. 34), and Pelion (R. 35).

Mountains

Flos liberi occurs (R. 30).

Plants

Vacerra is a term of reproach:

. vecorde
et malefica vacerra . . . (B. 33).

The dolphin playing about the ship is described (R. 5); the hunting dog (R. 29).

Animals

To the dolphin are applied the adjectives *lascivus* and *simus*; to the dog *odorisequos*.

Livius' fragments show no use of nature in illustration or simile. In the description of the sea (B. 22), a sense of its life and its power is seen, and the picturesque charm of the running stream is evident in R. 37. The fragments are too few to afford material for safe

Summary

⁴ The Greek original is as follows:

οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης
ἄνδρα γε συγχεῖναι, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερὸς εἴη. *Od.* 8, 138.

generalization, yet even from these can be inferred a power of description better than is usually attributed to Livius.⁵

2. NAEVIUS.

Of the one hundred and eighteen fragments of Naevius, as in Livius, one-fifth are references to nature. As in Livius, too, the proportion in the tragedies (one-half) is much greater than elsewhere, except in the case of the sea.

The only reference to the sky is in the *Lycurgus*;

iam solis aestu candor cum liquesceret (R. Naev. 48).

and in the *Bellum Punicum* (B. Naev. 25).

The north wind is personified in the *Iphigenia* and called upon:

passo velo vicinum, Aquilo, (Orestem) in portum fer foras (R. 16).⁶

The sea is referred to only briefly, and almost always in connection with ships.⁷ Its calm aspect alone appears, denoted by *flustris* (B. 51); *liquidus* (B. 36); *favens* (*fretum* R. 53);⁸ the last implying something of personalization.

References to streams are found in four fragments, in two of which the language is figurative. The violence of Lycurgus, in the tragedy of that name, is compared to a swift stream: *sic quasi amnis celeris rapit* (R. 39). There is a fountain of gold:

auri rubeo⁹ fonte lavere (me) memini manum (R. 6).

⁵ Biese, p. 8, says of Livius, "Nur genannt, nicht geschildert werden hohe Berge, winterliche Gefilde, das grosse Meer und die Kastalie, die über Steingeklüft hingleitet."

⁶ Hardly more than a translation from Euripides:

ἴτ' ὃ πνοαί, ναυσθλοῦσθε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
παῖδ' εἰς Ἀθήνας. *Iph. in Tauris*, 1487.

⁷ An unimportant reference occurs R. 52.

⁸ Assigned by R. to the *Iphigenia*. Cf. Eur. *Iph. in Tauris*, 1388, εὐξείνον πόρον.

⁹ *Niveo* edit. of 1871. The text of the whole passage is very doubtful.

The Ister is mentioned by name (R. 62), and the Strymon is evidently referred to in the description of the Bacchæ in the *Lycurgus*:

namque ludere ut lætantis inter se vidimus
propter amnem, aquam creterris sumere ex fonte (R. 41).

Streams are described as *celeris* (R. 39); *liquidus* (B. 29).

Mountains are mentioned only once, and then in the same way as by Livius, *montes confragos* (R. 55) being the equivalent of *ocres*.¹⁰ Upland regions are also referred to in the expression *altus saltus* (R. 27) in the *Lycurgus*.

In the same play are described:

Woods *frondiferos*¹¹ locos,
ingenio arbusta ubi nata¹² sunt, non obsita (R. 22).

In the *Bellum Punicum* are *silvicolæ homines* (B. 23).

Scopas atque verbenas (B. 34) are mentioned in connection with religious ceremonies only.

Plants Animals are generally found in comparisons. In the *Animals* satires is found:

atque prius pariet bovem lucusta Lucam (B. 62).

In the *Lycurgus* the captured Bacchæ are represented:

(sic) sine ferro pecua manibus (sueta) ut ad mortem meant (R. 44).

and

ducite
eo cum argutis linguis mutas quadrupedis (R. 25).
sublimen altos saltus incite invios,
ubi bipedes volucres lino linquant lumina (R. 27).

inubatos angues are found (R. 13).

Streams and animal life are comparatively well represented. More phases of nature are shown than in Livius, but the descriptions, though more numerous, are on the whole less interesting. Only the most

¹⁰ *Ocrem antiqui montem confragosum vocabant* (Fest. 131.)

¹¹ Where epithets are few and found only in passages quoted, they are italicized, and not quoted separately.

¹² *Vincta*, MSS.

ordinary aspects are shown, either by epithet or otherwise. Color terms are entirely lacking.

The address to the north wind and the description of the Bacchae on the banks of the Strymon show a touch of interest above the rest.

3. ENNIUS.

Of the seven hundred and fifty-eight fragments of Ennius, as in Livius and Naevius, a proportion of about one-fifth describe phenomena of nature. The division between the tragedies and other works, however, is very different. In both Livius and Naevius the proportion of fragments of tragedy dealing with nature is much larger than that of other works. In Ennius the reverse is true; of the tragedies only one-sixth of the fragments are concerned with nature; of the annals and satires together, one-fourth.

The sky is described with all manner of imagery — sometimes uncouth, but often vivid. Once, possibly, it is used in a simile:

fortis Romani sunt tam quam¹³ caelus profundus (B. Enn. 377).

Many characteristics of the sky are shown: *caeli caerula templa* (B. 28. 15; 54); *templa caeli summa* (R. Enn. 372); *caeli plagas* (R. 201); *mundus caeli vastus* (B. 467). Its relation to the gods: *magna templa caelitum* (R. 163); *Plagas caelestum* (B. 511.3); *diuom domus altisonum cael* (B. 360); *templum magnum Iovis altitonantis* (B. 310). Its rounded appearance:¹⁴ *cava caeli* (R. 95); *cava caerula* (R. 251). Its brilliance: *hoc sublimen candens* (R. 302). The night sky with its stars:

caelum suscepit stellis fulgentibus aptum (B. 113), (cf. B. 47).

vertitur interea caelum cum ingentibus signis (B. 150).

and again R. 163, (p. 99).

The sky is full of light:

lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerula candent (R. 251).

¹³ MSS. *quamquam*; *tam quam*, Baehrens.

¹⁴ Also B. 416; R. 177; 374.

Epithets express chiefly magnitude: *altisonus* (B. 360); (R. 177); *caeruleus* (B. 416); *caerulus* (B. 28. 15; 54); (R. 251); *candens* (R. 302); *cavus* (R. 95; 251); *ingens* (B. 455); (R. 374); *magnus* (B. 48; 511.4), (R. 163); *profundus* (B. 377); *vastus* (B. 467).

The sky is often metaphorically represented, the metaphors being derived from other forms of nature, or, more commonly, from the works of man. We find: *liquidas pilatasque aetheris oras* (B. 458);¹⁵ *caeli fretum* (B. 466); (R. 331); *cava caeruleo caelo cortina* (B. 416);¹⁶ *pilam mediam cohi* (B. 336); *caeli palatum* (B. 570); *cenacula maxima caeli* (B. 48); *altisono caeli clipeo* (R. 177); *caeli ingentes fornices* (R. 374); *ingens porta caeli* (B. 455); *caeli maxima porta* (B. 511.4).

It is identified with Jupiter:

aspice hoc sublimen candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem (R. 302).¹⁷

Juppiter hic risit, tempestatesque serenae¹⁸

riserunt omnes risu Iovis omnipotentis (B. 315).

It is appealed to, also, without the expression of such identification:

O magna templa caelitum, commixta stellis splendidis! (R. 163).¹⁹

cupido cepit miseram nunc me proloqui

caelo atque terrae Medeïi miserias (R. 216).²⁰

occurring apparently in the same connection.

The sun is many times represented;²¹ its eclipse is noted (B. 117); and its rising and setting (B. 55.14).

Sun Epithets are: *albus* (B. 55.14); (*inbar*, B. 314); *aureus* (B. 55.17); *candens* (*fax*, R. 234); *candidus* (*lux*, B.

¹⁵ luminis oras B. 73.5, 104.

¹⁶ The text is very doubtful.

¹⁷ Cf. B. 507.

¹⁸ Cf. B. 354.

¹⁹ Also B. 28.15.

Cf. ὦ στεροπὰ Διός, ὦ σκοτία νύξ. (Eur. *Hec.* 68.)

²⁰ ὥσθ' ἱμερός μ' ἐπῆλθε γῆ τε κοῖρανῶ

λέξαι μολούσῃ δεῦρο Μηδείας τέχας. Eur. *Med.* 57.

²¹ Mueller adds:

cum soles tandem faciunt langiscere longei (*Ann.* 493).

55.15); (*rota*, B. 335); *obstipus* (*lumen*, B. 202); *summus* (R. 237).

Personification is the commonest method of representing the sun:

interea facit albus iubar Hyperionis cursum (B. 314).

Sol, qui candentem in caelo sublimat facem (R. 234);

Sol equis iter repressit ungulis volantibus (B. 467.3);

Iuppiter tuque adeo summe Sol, qui res omnis spicis,
quique tuo (cum) lumine mare terram caelum contines,
inspice hoc facinus, prius quam fiat: prohibesseeis scelus (R. 237).²²

Apart from the sun's eclipse in which she figures the
Moon moon is mentioned only once.²³

Sole Luna luce lucet alba leni lactea (B. 507a).²⁴

Stars are usually represented as adornments of the sky
Stars and of night.

The most unique description is the following:

Quid noctis videtur in altisono
caeli clipeo?

. temo superat
stellas cogens etiam atque etiam
noctis sublime iter (R. 177).²⁵

Stars are described by epithet as *ardens* (B. 237); *fulgens* (B. 47; 113); *ingens* (*signum*, B. 150); *splendidus* (R. 163).

Clouds are described as the home of the storm, in one
Clouds fragment of the *Achilles*:

per ego deum sublimas subices
umidas, unde oritur imber sonitu saevo et spiritu (R. 2).

²² Cf. Eur., *Med.* 1251.

ὦ Γὰ τε καὶ παμφαῆς
ἀκτὺς Ἀελίου, κατίδεν' ἴδετε τὰν
ὀλομένην γυναικα.

²³ Unless R. 251, refers to it.

²⁴ Attributed to Ennius' first by Baehrens.

²⁵ Cf. Eur., *Iph In Aul.* 6.

Αγ. τίς ποτ' ἄρ' ἀστὴρ ὅδε πορθμύνει;
Πρ. Σείριος, ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐπταπόρου
Πλειάδος ἄσσωιν ἔτι μεσσήρης.

Night represents obscurity:

Night *ea libertas est*
 aliae res obnoxiae nocte in obscura latent (R. 259).

The sun sinks into the abyss of night, *infera noctis* (B. 55.15), and silent night enfolds the dead:

omnes occisi obcensique in nocte serena (B. 265).

Epithets are: *intempestus* (B. 18; 121); *obscurus* (R. 259); *serenus* (B. 265).

Night, like the sun, is almost always personified. She pursues her journey on high, *noctis subline iter* (R. 180),

hinc Nox processit stellis ardentibus apta (B. 237).

Nox quando mediis signis praecineta volabit (B. 281).

(nox) quae cava caeli

signitinentibus conficis bigis -⁶ — (R. 95).

Night "with impartial hand" interrupts a battle:

bellum aequis manibus nox intempesta diremit (B. 121).

The only interesting description of winds is borrowed quite literally from Homer. The simile illustrates a battle:

Wind

*concurrunt veluti venti, cum spiritus austri
 imbricitor aquiloque suo cum flamine contra
 indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant* ²⁷ (B. 304).

They are described as roughening the sea:

et aequora salsa ingentibus ventis veges (B. 498).

and as roaring with flame:

cum magno strepitu Vulcanum ventus vegebat (B. 384).

²⁶ Cf. Eur. *Andromeda*, fr. 114. N.

ὦ νῆξ ἱερά,
 ὡς μακρὸν ἵππενυμι δῶκεῖς
 ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεῖονσ'
 αἰθέρος ἱρᾶς
 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.

²⁷ Cf. *Il.* 9. 4.

“ὡς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,
 Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τώ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον,
 ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης. ἄμνδις δέ τε κῆμα κελαινὸν
 κορβύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρὲς ἄλα φῦκος ἔχευεν.

Epithets are: *crudelis* (*hiems*, B. 151); *furens* (B. 425); *imbricator* (*spiritus Austri* (B. 304); *ingens* (B. 498); *saevos* (*turbo*, B. 383).

They are personalized by the use of *imbricator*, *furens*, and in the following:

. vestro sine momine, venti (B. 426).

One simile and one metaphor are taken from rain:

undique conveniunt velut imber tela tribuno (B. 288);

Rain hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber (B. 201).

The sound of the rain is noted:

. ager oppletus imbrum
fremitu (R. 343).

There is a bare statement of the succession of seasons,
Seasons B. 296, designating winter as *acer*.

From the sea are borrowed words to describe mist:

transnavit cita per teneras caliginis auras (B. 19);

Sea ' the sky: *caeli fretum* (B. 466); (R. 331); *aetheris oras* (B. 458), *luminis oras* (B. 73.5; 104); the earth: *campi* . . . *caerula* (*laetaque prata*) (B. 346), (p. 106).

A horseman is *gubernator* (B. 346).

Other figures are:

fluctus verborum aures aucupant (R. 218);

semper adundantes hastas frangitque quatitque (B. 283.5);

. praeda exercitus undat (B. 215);

A rough sea is often represented. Its shore:

mare saxifragis undis (B. 463).

Its prey tossed about upon the waves:

rursus prorsus reciprocatur fluctus fera (R. 103);

alia fluctus differt dissupat

visceratim membra, maria salso spumant sanguine (R. 105).

Its surface reddened by a flash of lightning:

. interea fax

occidit oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra (B. 232).

Boats of various sorts are often represented: ²⁸

ratibusque fremebat
 imber Neptuni (B. 400);
 labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis (B. 349);
 carbasus alta volat pandam ductura carinam (B. 452);
 Ostia munita est; idem locus navibus pulcris
 munda facit nautisque mari quaesentibus vitam (B. 101);
 verrunt extemplo palmae mare marmore pulso:
 caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate flavom (B. 258). ²⁹

The sound of the sea is probably referred to in the words *litora lata sonunt* (B. 261). It is *imber Neptuni*, (B. 400), *fluctus natantes* (B. 402).

Many of the epithets applied to it express color. They are:

altus (R. 74; 265); (B. 254; 350; 401); *asper* (*unda*, B. 467); *caeruleus* (B. 258); *caerulus* (B. 103; 417; 418); *canus* (B. 349); *flavos* (B. 258); *magnus* (B. 304.3; 532); (R. 50); *saevos* (*Neptunus*, B. 467.2); *salsus* (B. 100; 418, *aequora*, B. 498); *undans* (*sabum* R. 162): ³⁰

Transferred from the sky to the sea is the term *velivolus* (B. 260); (R. 74), representing the ship as a bird.

The sea is described with figures taken from other forms of nature, as *ponti caerulea prata* (B. 103); and as *marmor* (B. 258).

It is invested with life:

inde Parum, circum quam caerulea salsa ululabant (B. 418);
 mulserat huc navem compulsam fluctibus pontus (B. 165) ³¹

²⁸ B. 102; 166; 167; 168; 169; 254; 259; 334; 350; 352; 353; 401. R. 52; 74.

²⁹ Quoted and explained by Gellius (2. 26. 21), "non enim videbatur caeruleum mare cum marmore flavo convenire. Sed cum sit ita, ut dixisti, flavus color e viridi et albo mixtus, pulcherrime prorsus spumas virentis maris 'flavom marmor' appellavit." with the following text, which Mueller retains:

verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flavo
 caeruleum spumat mare conferta rate pulsum.

³⁰ Mueller gives also *rapax unda* (*Ann.* 27).

³¹ Manuscript reading. Baehrens emends to:

mulserat huc navis compulsa fluctibus ponti.

It is uncertain whether the words *ita magni fluctus eici-*
Streams *ebantur* (R. 9), in the *Achilles*, are used literally
 of the Scamander, or figuratively of war.

There are gushing springs (B. 406). The Tiber pouring
 into the salt sea (B. 100), a sluggish stream:

quod per amoenam urbem leni fluit agmine flumen (B. 124).

Epithets are: *candidus* (B. 322) in contrast to a river pol-
 luted with blood; *magnus* (R. 9); *perennis* (B. 467.4); *sanctus*
 (B. 34) of the Tiber; *sulpureus* (B. 186) of the waters of the
 Nar.

Father Tiber is called upon (B. 34) and the same sort of
 mythological personification occurs in the following:

atque manu magna Romanos inpulit amnis (B. 309);

constitit, credo, Scamander (R. 151) (cf. B. 38);

Mountains are of little interest. The aspect already
Mountains shown by Livius and Naevius, is seen in the
 reference to *ardua tesca aspera saxa* (B. 342),
 and even the mountain of the Muses is *Musarum scopulos*
 (B. 155.3). In addition to this aspect is that of utility, in
 affording a wide view;

ibi tum derepente ex alto in altum despexit mare (R. 268),

and caverns, probably for places of concealment (B. 301).
 There are also:

montibus obstipis obstantibus, unde oritur nox (B. 280).

The *Ripæan Mountains* (B. 491) and *Pelion* (R. 205), are
 mentioned.

Epithets are: *arduus* (R. 342); *asper* (R. 342); *obstipus*
 (B. 280); *tescus* (R. 342); *summus* (*montibus summis Ripæis*,
 B. 421).

Woods are a source of timber (B. 140), and in connection
Woods with swamps, places useful for purposes of
 concealment:

silvarum saltus, latebras lamasque lutosas (B. 388).

They are described as *alta arbusta* (B. 140), and *frondosa*
silva (B. 140.5).

Of individual trees, Ennius has more to say. In her
 dream Ilia moves *per amoena salicta et ripas*
 Trees (B. 28.5), and there is interest in the descrip-
 tions of individual trees elsewhere: *fici dulciferæ* (B. 41);

longique cupressi

stant rectis foliis et amaro corpore buxum (B. 185);

capitibus nutantis pinos rectosque cupressos (B. 374);

populea frus (B. 375), and many trees together:

incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt;

percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,

fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,

pinus proceras pervortunt: omne sonabat

arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai (B. 140).

Epithets applied to individual trees usually express height: *altus* (*abies*, B. 140.3); *amoenus* (*salicta*, B. 28.5); *longus* (*cupressus*, B. 140.2); *magnus* (*quercus*, B. 140.2); *procerus* (*pinus*, B. 140.4); *rectus* (*cupressus*, B. 374).

In the expression *omne sonabat arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai* (B. 140), the trees are regarded as suffering from the treatment received at the hands of the wood-cutters.

Aside from trees, plants are of little interest. The term *flos delibatus populi* (B. 222.6), is applied to M. Cethegus. From the ripening of fruits comes the expression *pugna præcoca* (B. 192).

The acanthus is mentioned B. 242. Varro, R. R. I. 48.2, says of Ennius, "*arista et granum omnibus fere notum, gluma paucis. itaque id apud Ennium solum scriptum scio esse, in Euhemeri libris versis*" (B. 528). One fragment speaks of the separation of wheat from tares (B. 530),³² and the familiar proverb to "look for a knot in a bulrush" is found B. 347.

The earth is partially personalized:

terraque corpus

quæ dedit, ipsa capit neque dispendi facit bilum (B. 9).

Fields that produce crops are *laetus* (*ager*, B. 352); (*terrae frugiferae* (B. 428). Other fields are *laetus* (B. 346.3).

³² Other references to agriculture are B. 206; 218; 405.

Animals are conspicuous in Ennius. They are, however, almost confined to the *Annals* and *Satires*.

Animals

Birds are *praepes genus altivolantum* (B. 55.6); *pulcherruma . . . praepes avis* (B. 55.16); *genus pinnis condecoratum* (B. 8). Those mentioned by name are the peacock (B. 10), cock (R. 356), swan (B. 12), vulture (B. 93), and eagle. The last is described picturesquely in the words:

et densis aquila pinnis obnixa volabat
vento (B. 107).

snake with the epithet *caeruleus* (in the furies' hair) is mentioned in R. 28.

The monkey, *turpissima bestia*, is noticed for its resemblance to human beings (B. 490). The Roman wolf appears in the *Annals* (B. 39; 40; 42). The elephant B. 137; 171.

The horse is more often and more fully represented than any other animal. Ennius compares his own old age to that of a race horse:

hic, ut *fortis* equos, spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olimpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit (B. 273).

Another figure is imitated closely from Homer:

et tum sicut equos, qui de praesepibus fartus
vincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
celso pectore, saepe iubam quassat simul altam,
spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas (B. 346).³³

The strength and high spirit of the horse is again described:

ducit quadrupedum biugam (vim), invitam domat,
evalida quorum infrenast nimis tenacia (R. 156).

³³ ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐυρρείῳ ποταμοῖο,
κυδίων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ᾧμοις αἰσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃ πεποιθὼς,
ρίμῃ ἐ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἥθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων. Π. 6, 506.

sublimiter
 quadrupedantes . . . flammam halitantes (R. 153);
 cumque gubernator magna contorsit equom vi (B. 317).
 denique vi magna quadrupes eques atque elephantī
 proiciunt sese (B. 171);³⁴

and the sound of horses hoofs, *summo sonitu quatit ungula terram* (B. 196); (also B. 300).

The young dog which barks before its teeth are grown is used in a simile (B. 410), the verb *latrare* in *animus cum pectore latrat* (B. 441); *ululare* of the sea (B. 418).³⁵

The hunting dog is several times described:

siquando veluti vinclis venatica *velox*
 apta dolet, si forte feras ea nare sagaci
 sensit, voce sua et nictit ululatque ibi acuta (B. 235);
 invictus canis atque *sagar* et naribus fretus (B. 385);

Other domestic animals are cattle (B. 135); (R. 255); from which too the term *mugire* comes, used figuratively in *tibicina maximo labore mugit*;³⁶ sheep:

propter stagnas, ubi lanigerum pecus piscibus pascit (B. 492);

pigs, *sues stolidi* (B. 61).

The sky, the sea, trees, animals are especially interesting in Ennius, and most of all the sky. In

Summary other poets the clouds and heavenly bodies find better representation, but in none is the sky itself described in such varied terms. Its form is most often represented, yet its color and brilliance are also conspicuous.

Indeed, epithets denoting these qualities are freely used not only of the sky and heavenly bodies, but of the sea and of streams as well.

³⁴ See Gell. XVIII.5.

³⁵ Varro, *L. L.* VII. 104, derives this metaphor from the howling of the wolf. Other references to dogs B. 473; R. 404.

³⁶ The verb *boare*, in *clamore boantes* (B. 442), is explained by Varro *L. L.* VII. 103 (see also Non. 79.4), as transferred from cattle to men. Whether the poet who used the expression agreed with Varro in considering it a figure, cannot be determined.

Of artistic beauty and picturesqueness in nature, apart from what is expressed by epithets, little is shown. What there is, is found in some of the descriptions of trees, the sky and heavenly bodies. The account of the auspices taken by Romulus and Remus is enhanced by the natural setting given it:³⁷

interea sola currus recessit in infera Noctis
exin candida se radiis dedit acta foras lux,
et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma praepes
multa volavit avis; simul aureus exoritur sol,
cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta
avium, praepetibus sese pulchrisque locis dant (B. 55.14).

In a passage in the satires, various forms of nature are grouped as in a picture:

mundus caeli vastus constitit silentio,
et Neptunus saevos undis asperis pausam dedit;
Sol equis iter repressit ungulis volantibus,
constitere amnes perennes, arbores vento vacant (B. 467).

Most characteristic of Ennius' treatment of nature is its strongly imaginative character. There are many figures representing one form of nature in terms borrowed from another, as "blue meadows of sea;" or from man's works, as "shield of the sky;" and less frequently human affairs in terms of nature, as "waves of words," "a hail of spears."

Nature is in many cases invested with life, and sometimes definitely personified. In some of these cases, notably in the very Greek descriptions of the sun and night, is found the nearest approach to the modern sympathetic or sentimental view of nature, though they lean rather to the true mythological representation. Particularly in the representations of the sun and night, but also in other passages, Ennius has been shown to depend largely on Greek originals.³⁸ Yet, in many cases, differences will be found

³⁷ Biese, p. 10.

³⁸ Die wirkungsvollste Effekte sind den Griechischen Tragikern entlehnt, wenn wir auch nicht alle Einzelheiten belegen können. Biese, p. 12.

great enough to give his lines an independent character of their own. These differences generally lie in the larger descriptive element in the Latin. The Greek "O light of day, O dark night" (Eur. *Hec.* 68), becomes "O ye great realm of the gods, strewn with glittering stars" (R. 163). Eur. *Med.* 1253, "O earth and all-seeing light of the sun," becomes "O Jupiter and thou too supreme sun, who dost see all things and dost enfold seas, land and sky with thy light" (R. 237). The simile from the conflict of the winds (B. 304) is borrowed closely from Homer (*Il.* 9. 4) yet adds the descriptive epithet *imbricator*, and the name of the south wind, while the famous simile from the horse (B. 346) adds several touches to its Homeric prototype (*Il.* 6. 506), as "the blue-green fields and glad pastures." Most clearly borrowed from the Greek are the complaint to the heavens of the woes of Medea (R. 216; Eur. *Med.* 57); the description of night in her starry chariot (R. 95; Eur. *Andromeda* fr. 114). It is likewise true that an Euripidean tone is evident in other fragments whose definite Greek source cannot be named. Even in the *Annals*,³⁹ many references to the sky and night occur which are strikingly Euripidean in character, and lead to the inference that the phraseology of the Greek dramatists, become familiar through much study and translation of his works, remained in the mind of the Latin writer and came to the surface even when in his later years he was writing epic poetry of a purely Roman character. The peculiar and grotesque description of the sky, however, seems to be purely Roman, or rather, perhaps, "Ennian."

4. PACUVIUS.⁴⁰

The fragments of Pacuvius' tragedies are about three hundred in number. The proportion containing references to nature is smaller than in Ennius, being only about one-

³⁹ See personification of night, B. 237: 281; of the sun, B. 314: 335.

⁴⁰ References are to Ribbeck.

eighth. The subject matter and character of these fragments, too, is noticeably different.

The sky is as meagerly represented in Pacuvius as it is in Ennius. The only interesting description of it occurs in the Chryses, and is philosophic rather than aesthetic in character:

hoc vide, circum supraque quod complexu continet terram
solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret,
id quod nostri caelum memorant, Grai perhibent aethera:
quidquid est hoc, omnia animat format alit auget creat
sepelit recipitque in sese omnia, omniumque idem est pater,
indidemque eadem aequae oriuntur de integro atque eodem occidunt,
(Pac. 86.)

The idea is carried on in the following:

mater terrast: parit haec corpus, animam [autem] aeter adiugat (93).⁴¹

In the *Antiope* the words

sol si perpetuo siet,
flammeo vapore torrens terrae fetum exusserit:
nocti ni interveniat, fructus per pruina obriguerint (12),

are probably used in a simile illustrating the value of alternating good and bad fortunes for men.

The rising of the sun is referred to 87; 347; its setting 87; 411. Elsewhere, both sun and night are personified:

te, Sol, invoco, ut mihi potestatem dvis
inquirendi mei parentis (219).
exorto iubare, noctis decurso itinere (347).

Dawn is pictured:

. . . terra exhalat auram ad auroram *umidam* (363).

One metaphor is taken from the mist:

Quid istuc est? vultum caligat quae tristitas? (58).

⁴¹ This resembles closely a fragment of Euripides' *Chrysippus*: Fr. 839 (Nauck).

Χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίης φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν
τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς
εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον.

The only other reference to phenomena of the atmosphere is a figure from snow and hail:

nivit sagittis, plumbo et saxis grandinat (*Prætext.* 4).

The wind, *saevi turbines*, is an element in the description of a storm at sea (415), and is again mentioned in 76.

The sea is often described. There is the shore: *ut stagnorum umorem rimarem* (203); the tide: *aesti forte ex arido* (97);⁴² the sound of the sea, *murmur maris* (417).⁴³ It is designated as *altum* (332). The change from storm to calm is described in the Chryses:

interea loci
flucti flacciscunt, silescunt venti, mollitur mare (76).

The rising of a storm from calm, more fully:

profectione laeti piscium lasciviam
intuentur, nec tuendi satietas capier potest.
interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare,
tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbium obcaecat nigror,
flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru contremuit,
grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans cadit,
undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt turbines,
fervit aestu pelagus (409).

The disaster of the ship is shown:

rapide retro citroque percito aestu praecipitem ratem
reciprocare, undaeque e gremiis subiectare adfligere (333).

And in another fragment the confusion among ships in a storm is pictured:

armamentum stridor, flictus navium,
streptus fremitus, clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus (335.)

The personalization *undaeque e gremiis subiectare* (333) is the only figurative representation of the sea.

⁴² *Fluth nach der Ebbe* — Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* p. 251.

⁴³ Serv. in *Aen.* 1.55 — *quia ventos murmur sequitur.*

Mountains are somewhat more conspicuous in Pacuvius than in his predecessors. A high rock is climbed for the sake of a wide view, in the *Chryses* (95). In the same play a cave is described:

est ibi sub eo saxo penitus strata harena ingens specus (99).

Rocks and steep places are the scenes where tragic events occur in the *Periboea*:

ardua per loca agrestia pes
trepidante gradu nititur (272).

in the *Dulorestes* (136), and in one fragment of uncertain location (350). The wild rocky regions of the Bacchae are shown in the *Periboea* (310); uncultivated valleys in the *Atalanta*:

cum incultos pervestigans rimarem sinus (71).

Incultia vastitudine (314), *desertitudines* (438), and

qua vix caprigeno generi gradilis gressio est (*Practext.* 5),

may well refer to mountain regions. Aetna is mentioned (252), and Ida:

Idae promunturium, quouis lingua in altum proicit (94).

All epithets denote very much the same characteristics. There are *ardua loca* (272); *loca horrida* (1.b); *scrupea saxa* (310); *aspera saxa* (351); *scruposam specum* (252).

Hills are personalized in

clamore et sonitu colles resonantes bount⁴⁴ (223).

The metaphor *flos Liberi* occurs (291). Consistently with the philosophic ideas in the *Chryses*, the earth is personalized (363). In the *Dulorestes* she refuses her fruits in consequence of Aegisthus' crime:

nec grandiri frugum fetum posse nec mitiscere (142).

⁴⁴ See page 107.

Animals The halcyon appears in a comparison:

alcyonis ritu litus pervolgans feror (393).

Snakes or dragons are described:

linguae bisuleis actu crispato fulgere (229);

and again 398; the turtle (2); the dolphin;

Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicium pecus (408);

wild beasts, *ferae* and *beluae* (303; 357).

Fear of death in animals is described:

quin etiam ferae

quibus abest ad praecavendum intellegendi astutia

mortis iniecto terrore horrescunt (357).

Herds of cattle are *cornifrontes armentas*⁴⁵ (349); goats, *caprigeno generi* (*Prætext.* 5); the dog is found:

nam canis, quando est percussa lapide, non tam illum adpetit,

qui sese icit, quam illum cumpse lapidem, qui ipsa icta est, petit (38).

The sea is described with force and vividness.⁴⁶ The relation of earth and sky is interestingly set forth in the *Chryses*. Otherwise Pacuvius' treatment of nature is not of great interest. It is noticeable that epithets are very few, and include no color terms.

5. ACCIUS.⁴⁷

Of Accius' poetry about four hundred and sixty fragments remain. The proportion referring to nature is the same as in the case of Ennius' tragedies, one-sixth.

The sky is described as resounding with thunder (Acc. **Sky** 223), echoing with the shouts of men (*Prætext.* 2), changing from bright to dark:

splendet saepe, ast idem nimbis interdum nigret (260).

⁴⁵ 121 also refers to cattle.

⁴⁶ Of these only, is Biese's statement true:

"Immerhin zeigt Pacuvius bereits hohe Empfänglichkeit für poetische Naturschilderungen die er mit Ferve und Pracht entwirft" (p. 16); and even of these it can hardly be said "In den Naturschilderungen verrät sich der Maler, besonders die Seestücken" (p. 15), unless the painter may be regarded as putting in the strokes before our eyes. Both calm and storm are shown as gradually coming on, not as fully developed in a picture.

⁴⁷ References are to Ribbeck unless otherwise specified.

Some expressions closely resemble Ennius:

aequora caeli (224); *templum caelitus* (*Praetext.* 2); *alto ab limine caeli* (531).

Lux stands for day (37).

The sun is *orbem flammeum radiatum* (*Praetext.* 27); *radiatum lumen* (584); its rays are, *ardens* (493).

It is personified:

Sol qui *micantem candido* curru atque equis
flammas citatis *fervido* ardore explicas,
quoniam tam adverso augurio et inimico omine
Thebis *radiatum* lumen ostentas tuum? (581).⁴⁸

Moon Time is measured by the moon's course in 100.

Orion is the type of changelessness: ⁴⁹ *citius Orion pallescit* (693). The signs of the zodiac are described:

Stars pervade polum, *splendida* mundi
sidera binis continuis sex
picti spoliis (678).

The Argo is compared to a cloud by the shepherd who has never seen a ship: *interruptum credas nimbum volvier* (395).

Clouds

The darkening of the sky by clouds is expressed by the verb *nigrere* (260).

Descriptions of dawn are relatively numerous:

Dawn iamque auroram rutilare procul
cerno (675).

It is in the early morning light that Astyanax is captured and taken to Ulysses:

hic per matutinum lumen tardo procedens gradu
derepente aspicio ex nemore pavidum et properantem egredi (183).

⁴⁸ Eur. *Phoen. Prolog.* 1:

“ὦ τὴν ἐν ἄστροις οὐρανοῦ τέμνων ὁδὸν
καὶ χρυσοκολλήτοισιν ἐμβεβῶς δίφροις
Ἥλιε, θαῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίσσων φλόγα,
ὥς δυστυχῇ Θήβαισι τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρα
ἄκτῳ ἐφῆκας.

⁴⁹ According to Ribbeck: “Er könnte auch zu Anfang des Stückes die Unbeugsamkeit seines Sinnes betheuren.” *Röm. Trag.*, p. 545.

The earth at dawn is described in 493. (p. 119.)

Night Night is a time of misfortune:

deum regnator nocte caeca caelum e conspectu abstulit (32).
nocte intempesta nostram devenit domum (*Practext.* 41).

The most interesting description of wind occurs in the
Wind *Philoctetes*, probably in a comparison:

sub axe posita ad stellas septem, unde horrifer
Aquiloni' stridor gelidas molitur nives (566).

The winter wind is described in the *Prometheus*:

tum profusus flamine hiberno gelus (390);

and the breeze that carries the ship:

. vela ventorum animae immittere (10),

in the *Myrmidones*.

Snow The only reference to snow or rain is:

cum nixerint caelestium molem mihi (101).⁵⁰

The figure *belli fluctus* is found in 608.

The salt waves of the sea are sought by
Sea *Philoctetes* in the pain of his wound (562).

The effect of a neighboring mountain in calming the waves is noted (629, *Telephus*). The sea appears as the home of the exile:

nunc per terras vagus, extorris,
regno exturbatus, mari (333).

In the *Medea* the Argo is built:

ut tristis turbinum
toleraret hiemes, mare cum horreret fluctibus (412).

The sound of the waves on the shore and the echoes among the rocks is described:

⁵⁰ Soll man *nubes*, oder wenn die Variant *nixerit* vorzuziehen wäre, *Juppiter* als subject suppliren, und an Schneemassen denken, die sich zu den von Neptun gesandten Fluthen gesellt haben, um das Land des Königs zu überschwemmen? Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 562.

hac ubi curvo litore latratu
 unda sub undis labunda sonit (569);
 simul et circum magna sonantibus
 excita saxis suavisona⁵¹ echo
 crepitu clangente cachinnat (571).⁵²

Ships are often mentioned,⁵³ but by far the most interesting description is that given by the shepherd who had never seen a ship before:

tanta moles labitur
 fremibunda ex alto ingenti sonitu et spiritu.
 prae se undas volvit, vertices vi suscitatur:
 ruit prolapsa, pelagus respargit reflat.
 ita dum interruptum credas nimbium volvier,
 dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapi
 saxum aut procellis, vel globosos turbines
 existere ictos undis concursantibus:
 nisi quas terrestres pontus strages conciet,
 aut forte Triton fuscina evertens specus
 supert radices penitus undante in freto
 molem ex profundo saxeam ad caelum erigit (391).

Epithets used of the sea are varied: *altus* (*stagna*, 335); *inmisericors* (*fluctus* 33); *salsus* (*fluctus*, 563); *undans* (*fretus*, 401).

The shore is *anfractus* (336); *curvus* (569).

The sea is invested with life in the expression *latratu sonit* (569), and in

flucti inmisericordes iacere, taetra ad saxa adlidere (33).

Streams Envy is compared to a stream that eats away the rock:

saxum id facit angustitatem, et sub eo saxo exuberans
 scatebra fluviae radit rupem (504).

⁵¹ *sacca sonando*, MSS.

⁵² Quite different is the effect of the echo in Philoctetes' cave, where it adds to the dreariness:

in tecto umido
 quod eiulatu questu gemitu fremitibus
 resonando mutum flebilis voces refert (549).

⁵³ 10; 14; 125; 128; 405; 482; 522; 574; 575; 629; 677 (shipwrecked sailors).

Flucti cruoris . . . *Mysii* is found 633. By name are mentioned the Scamander:

Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine
atque acervos alta in amni corpore explevi hostico
(322 *Epinausimache*);

the Inachus, *rapidus undas Inachi* (297, *Epigoni*); Dirce, (602, *Thebais*),⁵⁴ Alpheus (509).

Epithets are: *abundans* (297); *altus* (323); *rapidus* (*unda*, 297); *sanctus* (*Scamander*, 322).

The usual aspect of desolation and dreariness is presented. **Mountains** In the *Andromeda* are:

misera obvallata saxo sento, paedore aliquo et fame (111).

In the *Philoctetes*,

. *deserta et tesqua*. *loca* (554),⁵⁵

and the cavern which reechoes with his lament (549).⁵⁶

Other aspects of mountains are shown. There are pasture grounds for flocks:

in celsis montibus
pecua atque inter colles pascunt Danae in Froegiae terminis
(177), (cf. 409).

The picturesque expression,

colomen alte geminis aptum cornibus (600).

probably refers to Parnassus.

In the *Bacchae*:

sanctus Cithaeron
frondet viridantibus fetis (243),

and the Bacchic chorus is shown:

laetum in Parnaso inter pinos tripudiantem in circulis (249).

Mount Oetaeon is the scene of Hercules' death in 670.

⁵⁴ One more reference is found in 461.

⁵⁵ Cf. description in Sophocles, *Phil.* 220.

ὦ ξένοι

τίνες ποτ' εἰς γῆν τήνδε ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ
κατέσχετ' οὐτ' εὖορμον οὐτ' οἰκουμένην.

⁵⁶ For similar scenes, see 81: 557.

Mountain regions are described as: *celsus* (177); *sentus* (*saxum*, 111); *miser* (*obvallum*, 111); *tesquus* (*locus desertus*, 554); *sanctus* (*Cithaeron*, 243).

In addition to the references to woods in connection with mountains, are found *silvicolae* (237) and

vagent ruspantes silvas, sectantes feras (441, *Meleager*).⁵⁷

Plants *Flos* is used figuratively:

num quis non mortalis florem liberum invidit meum ? (424)

and the verb *florere* in the expression *insignibus florere* (632, *Telephus*).

Of individual trees the pine (249), the ash

fraxinus fusa ferox infensa infinditur ossis (B. Acc. 4)

and the fir (331; 407) alone are mentioned.

A comparison is made between the good and wicked of mankind and good and poor grain:⁵⁸

probae etsi in segetem sunt deteriorem datae
fruges, tamen ipsae suapte natura enitent (234, *Thyestes*).

A rich harvest field is again figuratively used in the *Andromeda* (115). The plain of Amphissa beneath Parnassus (probably) is described as:

Locrorum late viridia et frugum ubera (49, *Erigona*),

and the effect of the gods' displeasure upon the harvest is shown:

. . . fruges prohibet pergrandescere (440, *Meleager*).

The vine leaf *glauco pampino* (257, *Bacchae*), and the ver-bena (472, *Neoptolemus*) are used as decorations and in religious observances.

⁵⁷ For another reference to mountain regions and woods see R. 435.

⁵⁸ "Ein gemeiner Saatfeld könne durch Pflege edele Frucht hervorbringen, ebensoleicht aber pflege eine edele Mutter von einem niedergesinnten Manne des Stammes unwürdige Nachkommen zu gebaren." Ribb. *Röm. Trag.* p. 451.

Cf. Eurip. *Hec.* 592.

The farmer's labor at early dawn is described:

forte ante auroram, radiorum ardentum indicem,
cum e somno in segetem agrestis cornutos cient,
ut rorulentas terras ferro fumidas
proscindant glebasque arvo ex mollito excitent (493, *Ocnomaus*).

Pinniger is used of birds (546, *Philoctetes*).

Animals

The eagle is mentioned B. 8.

The dolphin is used in a figure:

sicut lasciui atque alacres rostris perfremunt
delphini (403, *Medea*).

There are found also the serpent:

eius serpentis squamae squalido auro et purpura pertextae
(517, *Pelopidae*);

the boar:

frigit saetas rubore ex oculis fulgens flammeo (443),

in the *Meleager*. Skins of wild animals deck the Bacchae:

tunc silvestrum exuvias laevo pictas lateri accommodant (256).⁵⁹

Of domestic animals are found the sheep, *pecus lanigerum* (*Practext.* 19); the goat, *caprigenum trita ungulis* (544); the pig (B. 22); herds deserted by their shepherds:

vagant. pavore pecuda in tumultis deserunt.
(a) qui vos pascet postea (409 *Medea*)

oxen, *agrestis cornutos* (494).⁶⁰

Horses play the most important part among animals. There is a simile:

item ac maestitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum (315)⁶¹

Freno is figuratively used, *iram infrenes* (15), *effrenata inpuidentia* (133). There are also *vim citatum quadrupedum* (381),

perite in stabulo frenos immitens *feris* (410);

and *quadripedantum sonipedum* (603).

⁵⁹ Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 696.

⁶⁰ Other references to herds are 211; 271.

⁶¹ Cf. *Il.* 17.426 ff.

References to dawn are especially noteworthy in Accius.

Summary He excels in power of description of quiet scenes, of which the account of the ploughman's labor in the early morning is most interesting (p. 119). The same power of description is seen in the shepherd's story of the Argo, where there is also a touch of imagination not seen in any other passage (p. 116).

In the account of the capture of Astyanax in the dim light of early morning seems to be an attempt to suit the natural setting to the story. The same is seen in the description of Philoctetes' place of exile. And the expression "pitiless waves" (p. 116) shows at least in a negative way a sense of possible kinship between nature and man.

6. FRAGMENTS OF TRAGEDY OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORSHIP.⁶²

Of these Ribbeck gives one hundred and fifty-five.

The sky is represented as *aeterna templa caeli* (Incert. 227).

Sky It is invoked:

tetulit senilis Poeas ad caelum manus. (70);

The sun is personified:

ore beato lumine volitans, qui per caelum candidus equitas! (183);

the dawn:

sed iam se caelo cedens Aurora obstinet suum patrem (215);⁶³

ght:

Erebo (pro) creata *fuscis* crinibus Nox, te invoco (132).

Winds are addressed:

agite o pelagi cursores

cupidam in patriam portate! (253)

Sea

Misfortune is typified by shipwreck:

naufragia, labes generis ignores, senex? (84);

neque me patiar

iterum ad unum scopulum ut olim

classem Achivom offendere (139).

Ships are *rates repentēs* (225).⁶⁴

⁶² References are to Ribbeck.

⁶³ Baehrens assigns to the *Carmen Nelei*.

⁶⁴ Other references to boats are 90; 181.

The shore is represented:

qua ponto ab Helles atque ab Ionio mari
urgetur Isthmus (105); ⁶⁵

its solitude:

et ego ibo ut latebras ruspans rimer maritimas (83);
litus atque aer, et solitudo mera (152).

The sea is *altus* (*aequor*, 224); *salum* (4).

The only mention of streams is in connection with Tan-

Streams talus (111).

and
Mountains A hillock is described:

saxea est verruca in summo montis vertice (141);

the entrance to Acheron (73).

Plants A comparison between leafy branches and hair
is made:

infulatas hostias
non lana, sed velatas frondenti coma (220). ⁶⁶

The fields of Asia are *frugifera et ecferata* (164), *florens* is
metaphorically used, *florantissimo regno* (183); *omnia florere*
(136). vines are *vites laetificae* (134).

There is also a picture of the exuberance of all nature:

caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere,
vites laetificae pampinis pubescere,
rami bacarum ubertate incurvescere,
segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia,
fontes scatere, herbis prata convestiri (131). ⁶⁷

Animals From the management of horses comes the
figure:

errare erras: nam exultantem te et praefidentem tibi
reprimere validae legum habenae atque imperi insistent iugo (125).

⁶⁵ Other references to the Hellespont are 107; 163.

⁶⁶ MSS. *frondentis comas*.

⁶⁷ Probably from Ennius' *Eumenides*; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 903:

καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε κἀνέμων ἀήματα,
εὐηλώς πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχων χθόνα·
καρπὸν τε γαίης καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον
ἀστοῖσιν εἰθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ.

The speed of horses is vividly represented in the following:

agilis sonipes rapitur celeri sonitu trepidans (237);
 rapite agite ruite *celeripedes!* (218);
 rapiunt per undas currus suspensos equi (196).

Of other animals are represented: *hostiis balantibus* (9); the bulls tamed by Jason (94).

7. HOSTIUS.

Of the seven fragments of Hostius, two are concerned with animals. Birds he calls *gentis altivolantum aetherias* (B. Host. 1). The fate of cattle in time of war is referred to:

saepe greges pecuum ex hibernis pastibus pulsae (B. 4).

8. LUCILIUS.⁶⁸

Of the nine hundred and forty-three fragments of Lucilius' satires, only about one-fourteenth have any reference to nature.

Sky There is a reference to investigating nature:
aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere tempus (1);

a reference to moisture exhaled from the earth in the words:

terra abit in nimbos imbremque (97).

Winds Fair wind is mentioned:

nec ventorum flamina flando suda secundet (673);
rex Cotus ille duo hos uentos, austrum atque aquilonem,
novisse aiebat me solos demagis, istos
ex nimbo austellos nec nosse nec esse putare (381);

but more often stormy winds at sea:⁶⁹

continuo, simul ac paulo vehementius aura
inflarit, fluctus erexerit extuleritque (757);
nam si tu fluctus undasque e gurgite salso
tollere decreris, venti prius Emathii vim,
ventum, inquam, tollas (37).

⁶⁸ References are all to Baehrens' *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*.

⁶⁹ Cf. also 291; 474.

Epithets are: *saevus* (*tempestas*, 430); *sudus* (*flumen*, 673).

Several of Lucilius' references to the sea are interesting. They all refer to navigation. Probably figurative is:

Sea

quodque te in tranquillum ex saevis transfert tempestatibus (430).

The cyclops staff is compared to a ship's mast (353.3).
Dangers of navigation appear:⁷⁰

vir mare metitur magnum et se fluctibus tradit (756);

saxa ad stridor ubique, rudentum sibilus instat (805).

The sea is called *sae* (231).

Epithets of the sea are only the most obvious: *magnus* (756); *salsus* (37).

The "fountains of the muses" (699), the river Silarus (92), and even more insignificant references make up the list.

Streams
and

Mountains

Mountains are only twice mentioned:

tanti se Emporiis montes *eis* aetera tollent (599)

ἀγίλιτοι montes, Aetnae *ocres*, *asper*i Athones (79.4).

Plants

Flos is metaphorically used (787).

Thorns no doubt stand for trouble in *stat sentibus pectus* (148) which finds its literal prototype in *stat sentibus fundus* (870). There is the proverbial "knot in the bulrush" in 16.

Otherwise plants are shown only as articles of food, or in connection with agriculture, to which there are many references.⁷¹ The only one of any interest is:

purpureamque uvam facit albam pampinam habere (727).

Animals

Many kinds of animals are shown.

The only wild birds, aside from those mentioned merely as articles of food, are the vulture (39), the diver, figuratively, *aerarius mergus*, 879.

⁷⁰Other references to the sea and ships are: 90; 91; 92; 93; 231; 290; 888.

⁷¹219; 379; 383; 398; 524.

From fowls, one simile is taken:

candidus una
ac bene plumalis quasi olorum atque anseris collus (218);

and one metaphor:

usque petit pipans: 'da qualibet, ut iuvat' inquit (831).

The cock is described in 238.

In figures are found the lion, (207), the rhinoceros, the wolf in a metaphor, *vetulum lupum Annibalem* (654), the dolphin (211). Outside of figures are found the young of wild beasts (138), the lion (778; 780; 782), the elephant and camel (851), the monkey (850), the snake, (*colubra*, 408; *anguis volucris ac pinnatos* 462), the dolphin:

lascivire pecus nasi rostrique repandum (174),

the whale and tunny fish (847), *timia* (765), *vermiculi* (216), scorpion, *scorpions cauda sublata* (708). Domestic animals generally appear in figures and illustrations, for comic effect:

nequam et magnus homo, laniorum inmanis canes ut (184);

. eodem pacto obgannis (224).⁷²

Once the comparison is reversed:

inritata canes quam homo quam planius dicit (10).

Words belonging to the sounds made by animals, are often used of men:

haec, inquam, rudet e rostris (189);

quantum hinnitum atque eiulitatum (856).⁷³

Pigs are found (282; 790); the horse in the following:

sustineat currum ut bonus saepe agitator equosque (813).

Horses are spoken of in various terms: *gradarius*, *optumus vector* (349); *Campanus sonipes succussor* (368); *succussatoris*, *tactri tardique caballi* (78). The goat is described:

pascali pecore ac montano, hirtio atque soloce (788).

the sheep, *musimo* in 196, the ass 730; 895.

⁷² The dog is also mentioned in 138; 773; 778.

⁷³ Other references to cattle are 187; 286; 697; 730; 752.

The treatment of animals in comic figures is interesting, otherwise Lucilius' treatment of nature is entirely uninteresting. Of sentiment for nature no trace appears.

9. TITUS QUINTIUS ATTA.

One of the two fragments of Atta's epigrams contains a figure from agriculture:

vertamus vomerem
in ceram mucroneque aremus osseo (T. Quint. Atta 2).

10. VALERIUS AEDITUUS.

A figure in one of the two epigrams shows a modern touch:

Wind lucet pectoris flamma satis.
istam mox potis est vis *saeva* exstinguere venti
aut imber caelo concitus praecipitans (Val. Aed. 2.2).

11. QUINTUS LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Among the ten verses of his two fragments, is found a comparison of the appearance of Aurora and Roscius:

constiteram exorientem Auroram forte salutans,
quom subito a laeva Roscius exoritur.
pace mihi liceat, caelestes, dicere vestra;
mortalis visust pulchrior esse deo (Q. Lut. Cat. 2).

12. AULUS FURIUS ANTIAS.

Of the six fragments of Antias' epic verses, five contain references to nature. In one is the odd expression:

omnia noctescunt tenebris caliginis *atrae* (A. Fur. Ant. 2).

Sea Two references to the sea are interesting:
sicut fulca levis volitat super aequora classis (4).

The changing color of the sea under the influence of the wind is described:

spiritus Eurorum *viridis* cum purpurat undas (5).

Plants A metaphor from the growth of plants is used:
increscunt animi, virescit volnere virtus (3).

13. PORCIUS LICINUS.

One of the four fragments is,
serena caeli momina et salsi fretus (Porc. Lic. 6).
Tenerae propaginis (5), is used of lambs.

14. GNAEUS MATIUS.

In the translation of the Iliad, the one reference to nature, a river (Cn. Mat. 7) is unimportant. In
Sky the *Mimiambi* is one pleasing picture of the rising sun:

*iamiam albicascit Phoebus et recentatur,
 commune hominibus lumen et voluptatis* (9).

Fragments 14; 16; 17 deal with agriculture. The adverb *columbulatim*, is used of the expression of affection in 12.

15. SUEIUS.

Among the nine fragments of the idylls, is found the
Birds figurative expression:

ascendit e frunde et fritinnit suaviter ⁷⁴ (Sueius. 6).

16. LAEVIUS.

Of Laevius' poetry about thirty fragments remain. The
Sea moon is *aima Noctiluca* (Laev. 26). The sea and ships are referred to:

*tu qui permensus ponti maria alta carina
 relivola* (11);

maria alta in 12; echo among rocks in 10.

17. CARMINA MARCIANA.

These prophetic verses contain references to the "great sea," *pontum magnum* (Carm. Marc. 1.6), and the "fruitful earth," *terra frugiferente* (1.6).

⁷⁴ Varro L. L. VII.104.

CHAPTER II.

CICERONIAN PERIOD.

1. CICERO.⁷⁵

Cicero's prose writings would furnish some interesting material for this discussion, as Biese⁷⁶ has demonstrated. The poems alone, however, come within its scope. The greater part of what is left of Cicero's poetry is acknowledged translation from Aratus. These poems, dealing with astronomical and meteorological subjects as they do, furnish little of interest apart from their description of the heavenly bodies.

The sky is represented as *tegmine caeli* (281; 477; 483); *lumina caeli* (355; 653); *caeli . . . loca* (374); *caeli cavernas* (497); *aetheris cavernis* (B; M. T. Cicero 3.5); *convexum orbem* (560); *igniferum aethera* (329); *inmoderatum aethera* (B. 43). The sky with its stars is described:

quattuor aeterno lustrantes lumine mundum
orbes stelligeri portantes signa feruntur
amplexi terras caeli sub tegmine fulti
e quibus annorum volitantia lumina nosces,
quae densis distincta licebit cernere signis (481).

In a translation of Euripides⁷⁷ it is described:

vide sublime fusum, inmoderatum aethera,
qui terram tenero circumiectu amplectitur?
hunc summum habeto divum, hunc perhibeto Iovem (B. 43).

⁷⁵ References are to the *Phaenomena* (C. F. W. Mueller's Cicero, IV.3, Teubner 1879) unless otherwise specified. The same edition is used for all the *Aratea*. For other poems, Bachrens' *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*.

⁷⁶ P. 32.

⁷⁷ Fr. 935 D.

There are *solis nitidos* . . . *ortus* (B. 19.8) in the *Marius*, and *liquatae solis ardore* (B. 32.27) in a translation from Aeschylus; *clari solis* in 300.

The sun is often personified: *Titanum soboles* (B. 32); *Phoebe fax* (B. 3.20); *Titan* (294; 589); *laeti vestigia Solis* (339); *rota feruida Solis* (527); *Solis iter* (341); *convertit curriculum Sol* (510). It clothes the world and constellations with light:

. . . perpetuo vestivit lumine Titan (294);

haec Sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans (578).

Moon An eclipse of the moon is referred to twice:

cum claram speciem concreto lumine Luna

abdedit et subito *stellanti* nocte perempta est (B. 3.18);

cum neque caligans deterisit sidera nubes

nec pleno stellas superavit lumine Luna (490).

Stars Stars and comets in a prodigy are described:

astrorum volucris . . . motus

concursumque gravi stellarum ardore micantis

. . . et claro tremulos ardore cometas (B. 3.11).

Fixed stars are described:

legitimo . . . caelum lustrantia cursu (469);

planets according to the idea of Aratus:

quae faciunt vestigia cursu,

non eodem semper spatio protrita teruntur.

sic malunt errare vagae per nubila caeli,

atque suos vario motu metiri orbes (472);

according to Cicero's own knowledge:

stellarum motus cursusque vagantis

quae verbo ac falsis Graiorum vocibus errant,
re vera certo lapsu spatique feruntur (B. 3.6).

Constellations are groups of stars,

quas sideribus claris natura polivit

et vario pinxit distinguens lumine formas (404).

Individual stars and constellations are variously described:

The morning star is *præcius Auroræ: Solis noctisque satell*es (B. 1). Arcturus is

stella micans radiis, Arcturus nomine claro (99).

The Pleiades are described:

parvas Vergilias tenui cum luce videtis (202).

They indicate changing seasons:

*hae tenues parvo labentes lumine lucent;
at magnum nomen signi clarumque vocatur
propterea, quod et aestatis primordia clarat
et post hiberni praepandens temporis ortus
admonet, ut mandent mortales semina terris* (271).

The constellation Aquila (328), Arcturus and Ara (428), and, probably, Helice (38), are useful to sailors.

Constellations are sometimes described in terms applicable to the stars themselves. The crown:

. . . *illa eximio . . . fulgore Corona* (73);

the kids with their dim light:

. . . *Haedi exiguum iaciunt mortalibus ignem* (171);

Andromeda: *inlustri . . . corpore . . . Andromeda* (201); *sub pectore clarae Andromedae* (238); *Andromedae clarum caput* (361);

the horse:

. . . *Equus ille iubam quatiens fulgore micanti* (209);

the bowl: *fulgens Cratera* (463); the hare: *fulgentem leporem* (522);

the arrow: *clara sagitta* (724);

hic missore vacans fulgens iacet una sagitta (325);

the eagle as if in flight:

*at propter se Aquila ardenti cum corpore portat
igniferum mulcens tremebundis aethera pinnis* (328);

Orion: *Orion claro corpora* (537); *claris cum lucibus enat Orion* (613);

*exinde Orion obliquo corpore nitens
inferiora tenet truculenti corpora Tauri;
quem qui suspiciens in caelum nocte serena
late dispersum non viderit, haud ita vero
cetera se speret cognoscere signa potesse* (343);

the dog: *clari Canis vestigia* (382); *fervidus ille Canis* (715);

rutilo cum lumine claret

fervidus ille Canis (348);

the lyre: *clara Fides* (714); Hydra:

longius exoritur iam claro corpore serpens (632);

the bird as in flight:

quem rutila fulgens pluma praetervolat Ales (660).

Often the descriptive terms are applicable to the object from which the constellation takes its name. The dragon is *torvus Draco* in 47.

The bird is described:

est Ales avis, lato sub tegmine caeli

quae volat et serpens geminis secat aëra pinnis (231);

. . . . *nitens pinna convolvitur Ales* (326);

the horse, *Equi vis* (291);

clinata est ungula vemens

fortis Equi propter pinnati corporis alam (287);

the dolphin, *curvus Delphinus* (332);

the hare: *levipes Lepus* (365); the whale: *fera Pistrix* (384; 661), *Pistrix* . . . *caerulea* (384); *caeruleam ferae caudam Pistricis* (521); *spinigeram caudam Pistricis* (422); the raven: *plumato corpore Corvus* (464).

The zodiac is:

orbem signiferum.

nam gerit hic volvens bis sex ardentia signa (564).

The signs of the zodiac are separately described. The crab: *claro conlucens lumine Cancer* (509):

aestifer. . . *pandens ferventia sidera Cancer* (566):

the lion, *magnus Leo* (509); *fulgens*. . . *vis torva Leonis* (567);

magnus Leo tremulam quatiens e corpore flammam (153);

the Virgin: *splendenti corpore Virgo* (101); *rutilo conlucens corpore Virgo* (568); *pandens inlustrata lumina Virgo* (626); the scales: *claro cum lumine Chelae* (569); the scorpion: *Nepai*

fulgentis acumen (427); *lucens vis magna Nepai* (570); the archer:

. . . *Sagittipotens dextra flexum tenet arcum* (571);

Capricorn: *corpore semifero*. . . *Capricornus* (293); *ore fero Capricornus* (572); Aquarius: *radiantis Aquari* (416);

propter Aquarius obscurum dextra rigat amnem,
exiguo qui stellarum candore nitescit (417);

gelidum rivum Aquari (520); *umidus* . . . *Aquarius* (573); the fish: *squamoso corpore Pisces* (357); *squamigeri serpentes* . . . *Pisces* (574); the ram:

exin contortis Aries cum cornibus haeret (230);

Aries obscuro lumine labens (575);

the bull: *truculenti corpora Tauri* (344); *inflexo genu proiecto corpore Taurus* (576);

corniger est valido conixus corpore Taurus (173);

the twins: *ora* . . . *Geminorum industria* (499); *Gemini clarum iactantes lucibus ignem* (577).

Epithets describing constellations and stars are: *aestifer* (*Cancer*, 566); *ardens* (*signum*, 565), (*Aquila*, 328); *clarus* (*sidus*, 404), (*Andromeda*, 238, 661), (*Canis*, 382), (*Navis*, 523), (*Scorpius*, 452), (*Orion*, 537, 613), (*Chelae*, 569), (*Gemini*, 577), (*Hydra*, 612, 632), (*Fides*, 714), (*cometa*, B. 3.15); *conlucens* (*Virgo*, 568); *fervens* (*Cancer*, 566); *fervidus* (58), (*Canis*, 349, 715); *fugiens* (*signum*, 583); *fulgens* (*Sagitta*, 325), (*Nepa*, 427), (*Cratera*, 463), (*Lepus*, 522), (*Leo*, 567), (*Ales*, 660); *industrius* (101), (170), (*Andromeda*, 201), (358), (*Gemini*, 499), (621), (*Virgo*, 626); *lucens* (*Nepa*, 570); *magnus* (*Leo*, 153, 509); *micans* (*Arcturus*, 99), (*Equus*, 209), (B. 3.12); *praeclarus* (*insignium*, *Arat. Incert.* 1), (*Deltoton* 243); *radians* (*sidus*, 59), (*Aquarius*, 416); *rutilus* (*Canis*, 348), (*Virgo*, 568), (*Ales*, 660); *splendens* (*Virgo*, 101).

Clouds

Clouds are *opacem nubem* (445); and *caerulea nube* when the constellation Centaurus is described: *caerulea contextus nube feretur* (448).

Dawn

Dawn is:

umida Aurora
 clari praenuntia Solis (299).

NightNight is *serenus* (345), and *stellans* (B. 3.19).

It is personified:

non hiberna cito volvetur curriculo Nox (298);
 hoc spatium tranans caecis nox conficit umbris (584).

Wind

The north and south wind, especially the former, often stand for the corresponding points of the compass:

Pistrix
 validas Aquilonis ad auras
 caerulea vestigat finita in partibus Austri (385);

also 247; 256; 338; 341; 428; 498; 526.

The northwind is powerful, *validas Aquilonis*
auras (385), with whistling wings: *horrisonis Aquilonis*
 *alis* (247); *clarisonis auris Aquilonis* (526). The
 south wind is *validis* *viribus Auster* (301); wind
 upon the sea is described: *vehementi flamine ventus* (442), and
 personified: *feras procellas* (444).

Sea

The constellation of Argo is compared to a
 real ship:

at Canis ad caudam serpens prolabitur Argo
 conversam prae se portans cum lumine puppim;
 non aliae naves ut in alto ponere proras
 ante solent rostro Neptunia prata secantes;
 sed conversa retro caeli se per loca portat.
 sicut, cum coeptant tutos contingere portus,
 obvertunt navem magno cum pondere nautae
 adversamque trahunt optata ad litora puppim,
 sic conversa vetus super aethera vertitur Argo (370).

A figure is found in a translation from Aeschylus⁷⁸ where Prometheus is:

religatum asperis
 vinctumque saxis. navem ut horrisono freto
 noctem paventes timidi adnectunt navitae (B. 32.3)

⁷⁸ Cf. Aesch. *frag.* 193.

The sea typifies disaster:

nec tam aerumoso navigassem salo (B. 42)

Is almost always referred to in connection with ships:

hoc cave te in pontum studeas committere mense;
nam non longinquum spatium labere diurnum,
non hiberna cito volvetur curriculo nox.
umida non sese vestris Aurora querellis
ocius ostendet, clari prænuntia solis,
at validis aequor pulsabit viribus Auster.
tum fixum tremulo quatietur frigore corpus.
sed tamen anni iam labuntur tempore toto,
nec cui signorum cedunt neque flamina vitant
nec metuunt canos minitanti murmure fluctus (296).

Shipwreck is referred to *Arat. Incert. 2*.

Most often the dangers of the sea are referred to with the stars that guide or warn the sailor, as the bear:

haec fidunt duce nocturna Phoenices in alto (49);

and the constellations Aquila and Centaurus:

grave maestis

ostendit nautis perturbans aequora signum (330):

haec tamen aeterno invisens loca curriculo nox
signa dedit nautis, cuncti quae noscere possent,
commiserans hominum metuendos undique casus.
nam cum fulgentem cernes sine nubibus atris
Aram sub media caeli regione locatam,
a summa parte obscura caligine tectam,
tum validis fugito devitans viribus Austrum:
quem si prospiciens vitaveris omnia caute
armamenta locans, tuto labere per undas;
sin gravis inciderit vehementi flamine ventus,
perfringet celsos defixo robore malos,
ut res nulla feras possit mulcere procellas,
ni parte ex Aquilonis opacam pellere nubem
coeperit et subitis auris diduxerit Ara.

sin numeros medio in caelo Centaurus habebit
ipseque caerulea contactus nube feretur
atque Aram tenui caligans vestiet umbra,
ad signorum obitum vis est metuenda Favoni (433).

The signs which presage a storm at sea are described in the *Prognostica*:

atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros
inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit,
saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore
tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces,
aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis
ortus adaugescit scopulorum saepe repulsus.
cana fulix itidem fugiens e gurgite ponti
nuntiat horribilis clamans instare procellas
haud modicos tremulo fundens e gutture cantus (*Prog.* 177).

The sea is: *altus* (40; 372); *caerulus* (B. 29. 3); *canus* (305; *horrisonus* (*fretum*. B. 32. 3); *niveus* (*salis liquor*, *Prog.* 179); *vastus* (*gurgis*, *Arat. Incert.* 3). The Aegean is mentioned, *Aegaeo gurgite* (674), and the Tyrrhenian sea B. 21. It is *Neptunia prata* (373), and is endowed with life in the expression *canos minitanti murmure fluctus* (305).

The constellation of the Dragon winds *veluti rapido cum Streams gurgite flumen* (46), and the cold stream of Aquarius is referred to, *gelido delapsum flumine fontis* (421); (cf. 520).

Hills are *celsus* (*celso e vertice montis Prog.* 181), (*excelsis Mountains . . . collibus*, 673), rocks *asperis saxis* (B. 32.2).

Flos is used metaphorically in *flore iuventae* (B. 3.75). **Plants** The plane tree is *platano umbrifera* (B. 22.10,) and is again mentioned B. 22.13. The vine is described:

bacchica quam viridi convestit tegmine vitis (675).

The effect of the dog-star on vegetation is described:

hic ubi se pariter cum Sole in lumina caeli
extulit, haud patitur foliorum tegmine frustra
suspensos animos arbusta ornata tenere.
nam quorum stirpis tellus amplexa prehendit,
haec augens anima vitali flamine mulcet;
at quorum nequeunt radices findere terras,
denudat foliis ramos et cortice truncos (355).

The mastic tree is described:

iam vero *semper viridis* semperque gravata
lentiscus triplici solita grandescere fetu
ter fruges fundens tria tempora monstrat arandi (*Prog.* 322).

Animals Young birds are *teneros volucres* (B. 22.17) in the translation from the *Iliad*. The eagle is *Iovis satelles* (B. 32.12); *Iovis . . . pinnata satelles* (B. 19), and flies *prae-petibus pinnis* (B. 19.9). The goat is referred to (*Arat. In-cert.* 3). The most interesting bit of animal life is found in the *Prognostica*:

vos quoque signa videtis, aquai dulcis alumnae.
cum clamore paratis inanes fundere voces
absurdoque sono fontes et stagna cietis.
saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
et matutinis acedula vocibus instat,
vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,
fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix
demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit:
mollipedesque boves spectantes lumina caeli
naribus umiferum duxere ex aere sucum (*Prog.* 216).

Cattle are referred to, *vinctum domitumque iuvenum* (136), and (*Prog.* 224).

The fact that almost all that remains of Cicero's poetry is acknowledged translation, makes general
Summary conclusions as to subject matter of little value. In accordance with the nature of the Greek which he translated, phenomena of the heavens take the first place.

In the particular method of representing the phenomena of nature, and in the epithets used, an independent treatment of some interest is found.

2. QUINTUS CICERO.

In Quintus Cicero's metrical descriptions of the signs of the Zodiac, and other constellations, the characteristics of the changing seasons are shown. The horns of Taurus are "prophets of flowers," *florum-praenuntia*, (B; Quint. Cic. 3). Pisces *flumina verna*. . . *cient* (1). Gemini *arida aestatis*

primordia pandunt (4). *Libra Autumni reserat portas* (8). The Scorpion, *ecetos ramos denudat* (10). *Sagittarius pigra* . . . *iaculatur frigora terris* (11). *Aquarius* pours down mists, *nebulae rorans liquor altus Aquari* (13).

Pisces is *obscurum lumine* (1); cancer is *praeclarus* (5); Leo, *ferus* (6); the sun's "shining wheel," *rota fulgida* and the moon, *Lunae simulacra*, pursue their course (15).

3. VARRO.⁷⁹

The Menippean satires are the only poetical works of Varro which remain. Even in these the verse is mixed with prose. Yet, as the proportion of prose in the parts that treat of nature is exceedingly small, the whole will be considered together, without distinction.

The proportion of fragments dealing with nature out of the whole five hundred and sixty, is about one-fifth. A very large proportion of these is concerned with animals, but many interesting references to other forms of nature also are found.

Sky The sky is described in terms much like those of Ennius, though no such extravagance of metaphor appears. It is *caelitum altum templum* (*Bimarc. XI*), *caeli cavernas aureas* (*Marc. IV*), *caeli plagas* (*Lex. Maen. VI*).

Moon An eclipse of the moon occurs (*KYNIΣTΩP I*). Her light is once mentioned:

candens corpore
Taurus trivio lumine lunae (*ΓΝΩΘΙ Σ. VII*)

and she is once personified:

limbus . . . lunae bigas acceptat (*Dol. aut Ser. I.3*).

there are *vias stelligeras aetheris* (*Sesque. VI*),

⁷⁹ References are to *M. Terenti Varronis Saturarum Menippearum Reliquiae*, Riese, 1865.

Stars Constellations appear in a simile:

ut sidera caeli
divum, circum terram atque axem
quae volvuntur motu orbito
(ΓΝΩΘΙ. Σ. VI),

and picturesquely in the following:

repente noctis circiter meridie,
cum pictus aër *feruidis* late ignibus
caeli chorean astricen ostenderet (*Marc.* III).

The zodiac is described in a passage which expresses a sense of man's littleness amid the vastness of nature:

mundus domus est maxima homulli
quam quinque *altitonaë* flammigerae
zonae cingunt, per quam limbus
bis sex signis stellumicantibus
aptus in obliquo aethere Lunae
bigas acceptat (*Dol. aut Ser.* I).

Clouds and Rain Rain storms are three times described:

nec *coruscus* imber, *alto* nubilo cadens multus,
grandine implicatus *albo*
(ΤΡΙΟΔΙΤΗΣ T. V);
aut frigidos nimbos aquae caducitur ruentis (*Aeth.* I):

and more elaborately:

nubes *aquali*, frigido velo leves
caeli cavernas *aureas* subduxerant,
aquam vomentes inferam mortalibus (*Marc.* IV).

Dawn The color of the dawn is referred to:
aurorae at *ostrinum* hic indutus supparum (*Eum.* XLI).

Night Night is *niger*,
(de) nocte *nigra* ad lumina lampadis sequens (*Serages.* XXI).

Wind and squalls are the subject of *Sesque.* IV, and *Herc. Tu. Fid.* IV. The coldness of the north wind, *aquiloniam frigidinem*, is shown *Crus. Cred. Hod.* II, and hostile winds *Sesque* X.

Wind

The wind that bears the ship is compared to a horse:

detis habenas animae *leni*
dum nos ventus flamine *sudlo*
suavem ad patriam perducit

(KOΣMOT. VIII),

and winds are personified:

ventus buccas
vehementiu' sufflare et calcar admovere (*Sesque. VII*);
ventique frigido se ab axe eruperant,
phrenetici septentrionum filii,
secum ferentes tegulas, ramos, syrus (*Marc. V*).

Seasons

The four seasons are *anni tetrachordon* (*Ser-ran. II*). Autumn is the season of Bacchus:

cape hanc cāducam Liberi mollem dapem,
defrondem Bromiae autumnitatis uvidam! (*Quinquat. VII*).

Spring is characterized by the swallow:

ver *blandum* viget arvis (et) adest hospes hirundo (*Incert. XIII*).

Sea

The sea is rarely mentioned except in connection with ships.

A few metaphors are taken from it:

numve furentem eculum Damacrinum insanus equiso
ex hibernis morbi educet fluctibus umquam? (*Eum. XVII*).

madness is "*pectore fluctuanti*" (*Eum. XLVI*).

The calm sea is shown:

(albumst mare atque) adversi venti ceciderunt (*Sesque. X*).

Epithets of the sea often express color: *albus* (*Sesque. X*); *aquilus* (KOΣMOT. VII); *caerulus* (*Marc. II*); *latus* (*Mod. II*).

The shore is shown: *per maritimas oras vagat* (*Herc. Tu. Fid. III*).

Ships are shown *Marc. I*; *II*; *Herc. Tu. Fid. IV*. A ship is compared to a water spider:

ut levis tipulla lymphon frigidus transit lacus (*Bimarc. XXI*),

is *remiragam* (*Bimarc.* XX), *citiremen* (*Ag. Mod.* I), and figures as a chariot (KOΣMOT. VIII). The *phaselus* is its master's delight:

alius domini delicias phaselon aptum
tonsil (lae de) litore mobile in fluentum
solvit (*Desult.* II).

Streams Streams are common. They are found in simile:

cavo fonte uti cum inrigavit
cavata amnium anfracta, in silvam volantes (*Parmen.* IV);
uti rivus praecipitate in nemore deorsum
rapitur atque offensus aliquo a scopulo lapidoso albicatur
(*Cav. Can.* I);

metaphorically: *in reliquo corpore ab hoc fonte diffusast anima* (*Andabat.* X), and *corporis fervidos fontium . . . lacus sanguinis* (ΠΕΡΙ ΕΞ. IV).

There is the stream that gives refreshment to the traveller: *retinet viatorem meridie praetereuntem fons, quod autumnitas in anni tetrachordo mensum praeterierat* (*Serran.* II);

Ismenias hic Thebagenes fluit scaturrex (*Est. Mod. Mat.* 6);
Lydon fluens sub Sardibus flumen tulit
aurum (EKATOMBH I),

(cf. the Pactolus *Lex. Maen.* VII and the Albula

ΠΕΡΙΠΛΑΟΥΣ II).

To a stream is given the epithet *mobilis* (*fluentum*, *Desult.* II).

Mountains The usual dreary aspect of mountains is presented:

Pieridum comes,
quae tenet cava geloque acri (horrida) montium
saxa (*Sesque.* XXII).

The mountains of Persia are mentioned (ANΘΡΩΠ. II), and the mountain regions of Scythia are described as inhabited by "inhospitable solitude:"

mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens
Scytharum inhospitalis campis vastitas (*Prom.* IV).

Woods One figure is found:

sum uti supernus cortex aut cacumina
morientum in querqueto arborum aritudine (*Prom.* II).

There is a comic description of hunting (*Meleag.* II).
A grove is described:

ubi lucus opacus, *teneris* fruticibus aptus (*Mut. Mul. Scab.* IV);

the lotus, olive and plane tree:

caeditur lotos (atque) *alta* fros decedit

Palladis platanus ramis (*Parm.* VIII, cf. IX),

and the fir:

. . . alius *teneram* abietem solus percellit (*Parmen.* VII).

The common figurative use of good and bad harvests occurs (*Lex. Maen.* IX), and the word *virgin-demiam* designates a "harvest of blows" (*Agath.* VIII.5). Of frost the verb *subdealbare* is used (EXΩ ΣΕ. I). References to the earth and its products, in general unimportant, occur *Vinal.* I; *Ag. Mod.* III; *Flax.* I; ΓΕΡΟΝ. XI; XII; *Man.* XIII; ΓΑΦΗ ΜΕΝ. XVII.⁸⁰

Flowers are mentioned only as a source of honey for bees (*Prom.* X, p. 141).

Birds are very prominent. They appear most commonly
Animals in figures:

natura humanis omnia sunt paria.

qui pote plus, urget, piscis ut saepe minutos

magnu' comest, ut avis enicat accipiter (*Marcop.* II).

A drinking cup is *nidus potilis* (*Quinquat.* VIII).

The swallow appears in a simile:

ut hirundines virgultis oblitis luto tegulas fingeant

(ΓΑΦΗ ΜΕΝ. XVI).

The swallow as harbinger of spring appears *Incert.* XIII, (p. 138); the owl, *formidant quam fullo ululam* (ΓΑΦΗ ΜΕΝ. III);

the stork:

at nos caduci, naufragi, ut ciconiae;

quarum bipinnis fulminis plumas vapor

perussit, alte maesti in terram cecidimus (*Marc.* VI).

⁸⁰ Food plants are mentioned, *Long. Fug.* I; *Bimarc.* XXIV; *Eum.* XIV, XXVIII; *Man.* XVI.

Outside of figures appear: the young of birds, *pullas . . . fritinientes* (*Virg. Div. II*);

ad quos tum volucris venit pusillos
usque ad limina nidica esca vilis (*Virg. Div. V*);

the kite, prophet of rain:

iuget volitans miluus: aquam e nubibu' tortam
indicat fore, ut tegillum pastor sibi sumat (*Sesque. VIII*);

the duck:

nequiquam is *agilipennis* anates *tremipedas*,
buccis (cum) rostris pecudes, (in) paludibus
(de) nocte nigra ad lumina lampadis sequens (*Sesages. XXII*);

the cock *Aborig. I*; *ONOS A. II*; *Eum. XVIII*;

the peacock:

ut nitens pavoni' collus, nil extrinsecus sumens (*Sesages. XXII*;

PEPON. XIII.)

Of wild animals the variety is not great. The lion (*ONOS A. XI*), wolf (*Sesque. XI*), hedgehog, and snake (*Eum. XVIII*). The qualities of the fox are implied in the verb *vulpinare* (*Mys. III*). The deer is most common. It appears each time in connection with hunting:

contra coactus cervu' latratu canum
fertur bisulcis ungulis nitens humu (*Prans. Parat. II*);
nempe (aut) suis silvaticos in montibus sectaris
venabulo aut cervos, qui tibi mali nihil fecerunt,
verrutis—ah artem praeclaram! (*ONOS A. XX*).

It is *cervum volabilem* (*Meleag. VIII*);

Other forms of animal life are: the bat, which belongs "neither with mice nor with birds" (*Agath. VII*), the water-spider (*tipulla, Bimarc. XXI*). Milesian bees: *quam apes Milesiae coegerint ex omnibus floribus libantes* (*Prom. X*).

The crab, figuratively:

ut in litore cancri digitis primoribus stare (*Armor. Jud. II*).

As in Lucilius, the horse is the most interesting of domestic animals, and is represented in various ways. Figuratively: *sed neque vetulus canterius quam novellus melior*

*nec canitadini comes virtus, (Aborig. III). Sed ut equus qui ad vehendum est natus, tamen hic traditur magistro ut equiso doceat tolutim (ΤΡΙΟΔΙΤΗΣ T. III.). Detis habenas animae leni (ΚΟΣΜΟΤ. 8, p. 138). The high spirit of the horse is prominent in the expressions *ecum mordacem calcitronemve* (Sesque. XVII). Besides *ecus* and *eculus* is found *caballus* (Sesque. XVI), and three colors are described: chestnut (*badius*), pale yellow (*gilvus*), and mouse-color (*murinus*). (ΟΝΟΣ Λ. XXI).*

The dog is twice used in illustration: *ut canis sine coda* (ΤΑΦΗ ΜΕΝ. IV);

sic canis fit e catello, sic e tritico spica (Sexages. X);

metaphorically: *quid latras, quid rabis* (Id. At. I). As in Homer, the dog is the type of faithfulness (Sesque. 10). The hunting dog appears (Prans. Parat. II). The forum is satirically compared to a pigpen and the men busy in it to pigs (Prom. XIII). Sheep are *lanigeras* (ΛΟΓΟΜΑΧ. I).

In Varro's satires, as in Lucilius', the animal world is most conspicuous. As in Lucilius, too, many references to animals (as well as to other forms of nature), are made jestingly; unlike Lucilius, however, Varro seems to take a real interest in them, and to feel a certain human sympathy with them. This is especially noticeable in the case of wild animals and birds. Unlike Lucilius, too, Varro affords several interesting bits of description of other forms of nature, particularly of the stars, and of winds and rain. Epithets are in general few, and are confined mostly to the sea. Color terms, however, are used with comparative frequency.

Though the character of his works would seem least adapted to encourage the expression of any deep feeling for nature, it is not too much to assert for Varro a considerable interest in many of her manifestations.

Of a sympathetic relation between man and nature, no traces are found, unless possibly in connection with the animal world.

4. EGNATIUS.

Sky Both fragments of Egnatius are concerned with nature:

denique Mulciber ipse petens *altissima* caeli
continuo it (B. Eg. 1);

roscida noctivagis astris labentibus Phoebe
pulsa loco cessit concedens lucibus fratris (B. 2).

5. MARCUS FURIUS BIBACULUS.

Of the seventeen fragments of Bibaculus, only two represent nature. One is a mythological reference to dawn:

interea Oceani linquens Aurora cubile (B; M. F. Bibac. 8).

Another is a reference to snowy mountains,

Juppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpes (B. 16).⁵¹

6. LUCRETIVS.⁵²

A cursory reading of Lucretius leaves the impression that there are many somewhat extended descriptions of nature, both in connection with and apart from scientific explanations of her phenomena. It is easy, however, to over-estimate the quantity of descriptions, partly on account of the excellence of its quality; partly on account of the frequency with which brief allusions occur throughout the poems. By far the greater number of descriptions of nature are used in illustration of the argument of the poem.

Sky The sky is seldom used figuratively or in illustrations.

There are *caeli tempora* (I. 1066) for day and night; (V. 231, VI. 362) for weather and seasons, *liquidissima caeli tempestas* (IV. 168) for fair weather. *Templa mentis* (V. 103) for the mind involves a mixed metaphor, in its context, if the

⁵¹ Cf. Hor. Sat. II. 5.41, for satiric mention of this expression.

⁵² References are to Munro's edition (1893).

figurative force was felt. In a description of the effect of superstition upon the mind, the figure used seems drawn partly from the darkening of a stream with mud, partly from the darkening of the sky with clouds.⁸³

funditus humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo
omnia suffundens mortis nigrore neque ullam
esse voluptatem liquidam puramque relinquit. (III. 38).

In the illustration where the sky is used, as well as in other representations of it, its grandeur and mystery are made prominent.

To illustrate the point that no new thing is altogether easy to understand, no familiar one difficult or marvellous, the sky is used:

suspicio caeli clarum purumque colorem,
quaeque in se cohibet, palantia sidera passim,
lunamque et solis praeclara luce nitorem;
omnia quae nunc si primum mortalibus essent,
ex improviso si nunc obiecta repente,
quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici
aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes?
nil, ut opinor: ita haec species miranda fuisset.
quam tibi iam nemo, fessus satiate videndi,
suspiciere in caeli dignatur lucida templa! (II. 1030).

To show the impossibility of the existence of gods:

quis regere immensi summam . . .
.
quis pariter caelos omnis convertere et omnis
ignibus aetheriis terras suffire feracis,
omnibus inve locis esse omni tempore praesto,
nubibus ut tenebras faciat caelique serena
concutiat sonitu (II. 1097).

⁸³ The use of *funditus* and *turbo* seems to point to the former; *liquidus* and *purus* are used both of water and sky, but mental conditions are so very frequently compared by Lucretius to light and darkness that, even if the first part of the figure here is drawn from a stream, it seems more likely that the thought in the latter was of the darkening of the sky. Cf. the description of the darkening sky, VI, 479; IV, 168 (p. 150). In the description of the formation of the world, V, 495 (p. 150), the sky itself is compared to the clear water left after the settling of mud:

and again to show why men suppose them to exist and where:

nam cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi
 templa, super stellisque micantibus aethera fixum,
 et venit in mentem solis lunaeque viarum,
 tunc aliis oppressa malis in pectora cura
 illa quoque expergefactum caput erigere infit,
 nequae forte deum nobis immensa potestas
 sit, vario motu quae candida sidera verset (V. 1204);
 in caeloque deum sedes et templa locarunt,
 per caelum volvi quia nox et luna videtur,
 luna dies et nox et noctis signa severa
 noctivagaeque faces caeli flammaeque volantes,
 nubila sol imbres nix venti fulmina grando
 et rapidi fremitus et murmura magna minarum (V. 1188).

The sky is:

. hoc, circum supraque quod omnem
 continet amplexu terram (V. 318),

and the same is said of the ether:

qualis hic est, avido complexu quem tenet aether (II. 1036).

Many aspects are represented:

Its vastness is shown: *sublima caeli* (I. 340); *altum* (IV. 136); *altum caelum* (V. 446, VI. 287); *mundi magnum versatile templum* (V. 1436); *alta caeli fulgentia templa* (V. 491); *caeli impetus ingens* (V. 200); *patuli aequora mundi* (VI. 108); *prompta caeli* (VI. 817); *magnus caeli orbis* (V. 510); *magni caelestia mundi templa* (V. 1204); together with its hollow appearance, *caeli altus hiatus* (IV. 417); *magnas caeli cavernas* (IV. 171); *aetheriis cavernis* (IV. 391); together with the stars: *signiferi orbis* (V. 691); *signiferi aetheris aestus* (VI. 481); *stellis fulgentibus apta* *caeli domus* (VI. 357); *stellis micantibus aethera fixum* (V. 1205). Its brightness and color: *caeli serena* (II. 1100); *caeli lucida templa* (I. 1014; II. 1039); *fulgentia caelestia templa* (VI. 387, cf. V. 491); *caeli clarum purumque colorem* (II. 1030); *acra purum* (IV. 327); *caelo puro* (VI. 400); *caeli caerula* (I. 1090); *magni caerula mundi* (V. 771); *caerula caeli* (VI. 96; 482); *caeli templa* is very com-

mon (I. 1064; II. 1001; VI. 286; 644, 1228); *caeli penetralia templa* (I. 1105); *Summania templa* (V. 521); *caelestia templa* (V. 1204; VI. 388; 670). *Caeli tegmen* is common (I. 992; II. 663; V. 1016); *caeli domus alta tecta* (II. 1110) carries the same idea. *Aetheris orae* is found (II. 1000; IV. 215;⁸⁴ V. 657; 683); with *altus* (III. 835; V. 143); *aetheriae orae* (V. 85; VI. 61); with *ingens* (IV. 411).

Epithets in the foregoing are: *altus* (II. 1110; III. 835; IV. 136, 417; V. 143; 446; 491; 584; 1434; VI. 287); *caerulus* (I. 1090; V. 771; VI. 96; 482); *clarus* (II. 1030); *fulgens* (V. 491; VI. 158); *ingens* (IV. 411; V. 200); *lucidus* (I. 1014; II. 1039); *magnus* (IV. 171; V. 510, 771; 1204; 1436); *serenus* (II. 1100); *signifer* (V. 691; VI. 481); *sublimus* (I. 340).

Sun Figures are few. Its relation to the stars represents that of Epicurus to the rest of mankind:

qui genus humanum ingenio superavit et omnis
restinxit, stellas exortus ut aetherius sol (III. 1043; cf. III. 1),

and light is brought to darkness of the mind by philosophy:

quo carmine demum
clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis (I. 143).

So, too, philosophy is likened to the sunlight I. 146; II. 60; III. 91; VI. 40:

hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest
non radii solis nec lucida tela diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.

Human life is represented as *lumina vitae* V. 989.

From the sun many illustrations are taken. The changes in the present forms of matter are illustrated:

principio pars terrai nonnulla, perusta
solibus adsiduis, multa pulsata pedum vi,
pulveris exhalat nebulam nubesque volantis
quas validi toto dispergunt aere venti (V. 251).

⁸⁴ *Luminis orae* occurs I. 22 (with *dius*), I. 170; 179; II. 577; V. 224; 781; 1455).

In the discussion of the reliability of the senses, the rising and setting of the sun at sea are used as illustrations:

in pelago nautis ex undis ortus in undis
sol fit uti videatur obire et condere lumen (IV. 432);

and a similar illustration is taken from the rising of the sun over a distant mountain (IV. 404). The swift motion of the atoms is illustrated from the sun as it suddenly fills the world with light on rising (II. 144, p. 151). Images in great numbers, all in an instant of time, fly from the surfaces of material objects.

—quasi multa brevi spatio summittere debet
lumina sol ut perpetuo sint omnia plena,
sic ab rebus item simili ratione necessest
temporis in puncto rerum simulacra ferantur (IV. 161).

The sun's heat and light are examples of the mobility of things made of very small atoms (IV. 185), and again, why should not the motion be swift, of images cast off from the surfaces of things, if atoms from within the bodies of things are swift?

solis uti lux
ac vapor, haec puncto cernuntur lapsa diei
per totum caeli spatium diffundere sese
perque volare mare ac terras caelumque rigare (IV. 200).⁸⁵

Again they are:

frigus ut a fluviis, calor ab sole aestus ab undis
aequoris exesor moerorum litora circum (IV. 219).

Falling stars and the downward course of the sun's light illustrate the fact that no matter, of its own accord, can rise (II. 209).

Epithets of the sun are: *aetherius* (III. 1044; V. 215; 267; 281; 389); *praeclarus* (V. 120); *radiatus* (V. 482; 700); its light is *ardens* (*radius*, V. 755; VI. 869); *aureus* (*aurea matutina lumina*, V. 461); *candens* (*lumen*, V. 721; VI. 1197); *candidus* (V. 779); *clarus* (V. 779); *largus* (V. 281; 432); *liquidus*

⁸⁵ To illustrate the constant changes in matter almost the same words are used (V. 281).

(V. 281); *praeclarus* (*praeclara luce nitorem* II. 1032); *serenus* (II. 150); *splendidus* (II. 108); *tremulus* (*iubar* V. 697); the sun is figuratively represented as *radiatum insigne diei* (V. 700); *solis rota* . . . *altivolans* (V. 432); *solis rota* (V. 564); *sol rosea face* (V. 976); *sol rosea lampade* (V. 610); *aeternam lampada mundi* (V. 402); the sun and the light emanating from it are represented as a fountain:

largus item liquidi fons luminis, aetherius sol,
 irigat adsidue caelum candore recenti
 suppeditatque novo confestim lumine lumen (V. 281);

as a perfume:

ignibus aetheriis terras suffire feracis (II. 1098);

as sowing the fields with light:

sol etiam caeli de vertice dissipat omnis
 ardorem in partis et lumine conserit arva (II. 210).

The sun, moon and stars move across the sky like living beings:

et solis flammam per caeli caerula pasci (I. 1090);
 solis . . . varios cursus lunaeque meatus (V. 774);
 (cf. I. 128; V. 76.)

and are further personalized:

quove modo possent effecto lumine obire
 et neque opinantis tenebris obducere terras,
 cum quasi conivent et aperto lumine rursum
 omnia convisunt clara loca candida luce (V. 776);

as cherishing (*fovere*) plants and animals (I. 807); in the mythological account of Phaethon:

solque cadenti
 obvius aeternam suscepit lampada mundi (V. 401);

as teaching man:

at vigiles mundi magnum versatile templum
 sol et luna suo lustrantes lumine circum
 perdocuere homines annorum tempora verti (V. 1436).

Moon

The moon, except in scientific explanation, is found only in the passages already quoted, where it is spoken of in a general way together with the sun. Its phases are *varias splendoris formas* (V. 716).

The stars are not often used in illustration.

Stars Their movements across the sky are often represented. To show that nothing rises of its own accord, it is said:

nocturnasque faces caeli sublime volantis
nonne vides longos flammaram ducere tractus
in quascumque dedit partis natura meatum?
non cadere in terram stellas et sidera cernis? (II. 206);

In the discussion of the reliability of the senses is found:

raraque per caelum cum venti nubila portant
tempore nocturno, tum splendida signa videntur
labier adversum nimbos atque ire superne
longe aliam in partem ac vera ratione feruntur (IV. 443);

and again:

sidera cessare aetheriis adfixa cavernis
cuncta videntur, et adsiduo sunt omnia motu,
quandoquidem longos obitus exorta revisunt,
cum permensa suo sunt caelum corpore claro (IV. 391).

Their reflection in water is shown (IV. 211, p. 162). Their quivering motion is represented:

atque ideo totum circum tremere aethera signis (I. 1039).

There are *palantia sidera* (II. 1031); *nocturnus faces caeli sublime volantis* (II. 206); *noctivagae faces caeli flammæque volantes* (V. 1191); *aetheris ignes* (V. 448).

Epithets are: *candidus* (*sidus*, V. 1210); *clarus* (IV. 394); *fervidus* (*signum*, V. 628, 642); *flammeus* (V. 525); *fulgens* (*stella*, VI. 357); *gelidus* (VI. 720); *labens* (I. 2; *aetheris ignes*, I. 1034); *lucidus* (*signum*, V. 518); *micans* (*stella*, V. 1205); *serenus* (*serena sidera radiantia*, IV. 213); *severus* (*noctis signa severa*, V. 1190); *splendidus* (*signum*, IV. 444).

They are invested with life (IV. 394); in *unde aether sidera pascit* (I. 231); more fully:

sive ipsi serpere possunt
quo cuiusque cibus vocat atque invitat euntis,
flammea per caelum pascentis copora passim (V. 523);

and in I. 1034, (*vivant*).

Clouds Disease sweeps over the land like a cloud or mist (VI. 1122). Dust is *nebulam nubesque volantis* (V. 253).

Clouds appear generally in scientific explanations of their own nature and phenomena. They are used as illustrations but seldom. To explain the movements of planets:

nonne vides etiam diversis nubila ventis
diversas ire in partes inferna supernis (V. 646),

and the formation of "idols," spontaneously in the air:

ut nubes facile interdum concreescere in alto
cernimus et mundi speciem violare serenam
aera mulcentes motu. nam saepe Gigantum
ora volare videntur, et umbram ducere late,
interdum magni montes avolsaque saxa
montibus anteire et solem succedere praeter,
inde alios trahere atque inducere belua nimbos (IV. 136).

The theory of images is again illustrated:

praeterea modo cum fuit liquidissima caeli
tempestas, perquam subito fit turbida foede,
undique uti tenebras omnis Acherunta rearis
liquisse et magnas caeli complesse cavernas.
usque adeo taetra nimborum nocte coorta
inpendent atrae formidinis ora superne (VI. 168);

and again by reflection of clouds (IV. 414, p. 162). Formation of clouds is described:

praeterea fluviis ex omnibus et simul ipsa
surgere de terra nebulas aestumque videmus,
quae velut halitus hinc ita sursum expressa feruntur
suffunduntque sua caelum caligine et altas
sufficiunt nubis paulatim conveniundo;
urget enim quoque signiferi super aetheris aestus
et quasi densendo subtexit caerulea nimbis (VI. 476).

Clouds when formed darken the sky (II. 1100), and, passing before the sun, cut the light off from the earth (V. 286).

The brilliancy of rainless clouds is described:

etenim cum sunt umore sine ullo,
flammeus est plerumque colos et splendidus ollis (VI. 207).

Epithets applied to clouds are few: *atherius* (IV. 182; 911; VI. 98); *altus* (VI. 479; 495; *altas nubes nimbosque volantis* VI. 484); *flammeus* (VI. 208); *furvus* (VI. 461); *niger* (VI. 256; 526); *splendidus* (VI. 208).

They are compared with other things apart from nature:

conciunt etiam multum quoque saepe marinum
 umorem, veluti pendentia vellera lanae,
 cum supera magnum mare venti nubila portant (VI. 503).

They are in battle with the winds (VI. 98). Clouds when spread over the levels of the sky also give forth a sound,

carbasus ut quondam magnis intenta theatri
 dat crepitum malos inter iactata trabesque (VI. 109).

They are compared with other phenomena of nature:

sunt etiam fluctus per nubila, qui quasi murmur
 dant in frangendo graviter; quod item fit in altis
 fluminibus magnoque mari, cum frangitur aestus (VI. 142).

There are mountains of cloud (VI. 159); caves:

tum poteris magnas moles cognoscere eorum
 speluncasque velut saxis pendentibus structas
 cernere, quas venti cum tempestate coorta
 complerunt, magno indignantur murmure clausi
 nubibus in caveisque ferarum more minantur (VI. 194),

and a "night of cloud," *tætra nocte nimborum* (IV. 172).

Rainbow In connection with clouds should be noticed the rainbow, which is mentioned only once in all the poetry of this period:

Tum color in nigris existit nubibus arqui (VI. 526).

Dawn Dawn and sunrise are represented in their aspect on the earth:

primum aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras
 et variae volucres nemora avia pervolitantes
 aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent (II. 144);
 aurea cum primum gemmantis rore per herbas
 matutina rubent radiati lumina solis
 exhalantque lacus nebulam fluvii perennes,
 ipsaque ut interdum tellus fumare videtur (V. 461);

not found at all. The nearest approach to personification is in the following:

nec tibi caeca
nox iter eripiet quin ultima naturai
pervideas (I. 1115);
nox ubi terribili terras caligine texit (VI. 352);
hoc ubi roriferis terram nox obruit umbris (VI. 864).

The term *aura* is used for air (III. 400; 592; V. 236; VI. 1129);
and *aurae aeris* or *aeriae aurae* meaning air
Wind occurs I. 207; 783; 801; 803; II. 203; III. 456;
570; IV. 933. The mind moves the body as the wind a
ship (IV. 897). Wind is figuratively used:

. . . tu fac ne ventis verba profundam (IV. 931).

Winds are used in illustrations only a few times. Their action helps explain that of "idols" upon the eye:

ventus enim quoque paulatim cum verberat et cum
acre fluit frigus, non privam quamque solemus
particulam venti sentire et frigoris eius (IV. 259).

Thunder is sometimes caused by wind blowing through clouds of irregular form:

scilicet ut, crebraum silvam cum flamina cauri
perflant, dant sonitum frondes ramique fragorem.
fit quoque ut interdum validi vis incita venti
perseindat nubem perfringens impete recto.
nam quid possit ibi flatus manifesta docet res,
hic, ubi lenior est, in terra cum tamen alta
arbusta evolvens radicibus haurit ab imis (VI. 135).

In the description of the seasons (V. 737 ff.), zephyrus is one of the forerunners of spring, *etesia flabra aquilonum* characterize summer (cf. VI. 730; 715), and autumn is accompanied by

altitonans Voltumnus et auster fulmine pollens (V. 745).

Favonus is typical of spring:

et reserata viget genitabilis aura favoni (I. 11).

The power of wind is brought out:

cur eadem credis sine corpore in aere aperto
cum validis ventis aetatem degere posse? (III. 508);
principio venti vis verberat incita portus
ingentisque ruit navis et nubila differt,
interdum rapido percurrens turbine campos
arboribus magnis sternit montisque supremos
silvifragis vexat flabris: ita perfurit acri
cum fremitu saevitque minaci murmure ventus (I. 271),
(cf. I. 281, p. 160).

Epithets usually express strength and fierceness: *ferus* (VI. 592); *frigidus* (*vis*, VI. 319); *genitabilis* (*Favonus*, I. 11); *incertus* (*procella*, V. 504; 782); *magnus* (II. 766); *petulans* (*aura*, VI. 111); *rapidus* (*turbo*, I. 273; VI. 668); *saevus* (*procella*, III. 805; *tempestas*, VI. 458); *silvifragus* (*flabrum*, I. 275); *validus* (*auster*, I. 899; III. 494; 509; V. 254; 266; VI. 124; 137); *violens* (V. 1226; *turbo*, V. 217; 503; 1231); (*violentus turbo* V. 368); *volans* (*tempestas*, VI. 611).

Winds are personalized by the use of the epithets *saevus*, *validus*, etc., above, and more definitely, when they are compared to wild beasts (VI. 196 p. 151), and troops in battle:

quod nisi respirent venti, vis nulla refrenet
res neque ab exitio possit reprehendere euntis.
nunc quia respirant alternis inque gravescunt
et quasi collecti redeunt ceduntque repulsi (VI. 568),

(cf. the battle of winds and clouds VI. 97).

Rain and Snow.

The downward motion of the atoms is compared to rain:

imbris uti guttae, caderent per inane profundum (II. 222).

A shower of roses is compared to snow, II. 627, (p. 169).

Epithets of snow are *canus* (III. 21), *albus* (VI. 736) of melting snow on mountains; *gelidus* (VI. 107).

Seasons

The changing seasons are noted:

quod faciunt nobis annorum tempora, circum
cum redeunt fetusque ferunt variosque lepores,
nec tamen explemur vitae fructibus umquam (III. 1005),

and the atmospheric phenomena characteristic of them:

fulmina postremo nix imbres nubila venti
non nimis incertis fiunt in partibus anni (V. 675),
(see also I. 174; V. 670; 737.)

In spring, *tempora florentia veris* (VI. 359), thunder is frequent. Spring and autumn, when summer and winter are contending for mastery, are *freta anni* (VI. 374), and spring is typified by Venus, at the beginning of the first book.

Summer is the season of ripening grain (I. 174); in autumn, the grapes mature (I. 174), and

magis stellis fulgentibus apta
concutitur caeli domus undique totaque tellus (VI. 357);

in winter:.

cernis
arbita puniceo fieri matura colore (V. 940).

The epithet *acer* is applied to winter (VI. 373).

Autumn is personified *autumno suadente* (I. 175), and all the seasons:

it ver et Venus. et Veneris praenuntius ante
pennatus graditur, zephyri vestigia propter
Flora quibus mater praespargens ante vias
cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.
inde loci sequitur calor aridus et comes una
pulverulenta Ceres et etesia flabra aquilonum.
inde autumnus adit graditur simul Euhius Euan.
inde aliae tempestates ventique secuntur,
altitonans Volturnus et auster fulmine pollens.
tandem bruma nives affert pigrumque rigorem
reddit: hiemps sequitur crepitans hanc dentibus alga (V. 737).

Sea The sea is often figuratively used.

The epileptic

agens animam spumat, quasi in aequore salso
ventorum validis fervescent viribus undae (III. 493).

The action of the magnet is caused by an air which
trudit et inpellit, quasi navem velaque ventus (VI. 1033).

Atoms are themselves colorless, else why should the same objects so often change in color:

ut mare, cum magni commorunt aequora venti,
vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus (II. 766).

Atoms are infinite in number:

—quasi naufragiis magnis multisque coortis
disiectare solet magnum mare transtra gubernæ
antennas proram malos tonsasque natantis,
per terrarum omnis oras fluitantia aplustra
ut videantur et indicium mortalibus edant,
infidi maris insidias virisque dolumque
ut vitare velint, neve ullo tempore credant,
subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti,
sic tibi si finita semel primordia quaedam
constitues, ævum debebunt sparsa per omnem
disiectare æstus diversi materiai,
numquam in concilium ut possint compulsa coire (II. 552).

The newborn child lies naked on the ground

. ut sævis proiectus ab undis
navita (V. 222).

Metaphorically are found *maeriae tanto in pelago* (II. 550); a sea of trouble is expressed in *fluctibus e tantis* (V. 11); and the sea of life in

idque minutatim vitam provexit in altum
et belli magnos commovit funditus æstus (V. 1434).

spring and autumn are *fretus anni* (VI. 364; 374); there are *aerias undas* (II. 152) through which the sun's rays must make their way; *aetheris æstus* (V. 483; 519); and the air is compared to the sea in *mare aeris* (V. 276) and *ventis furi-bundus fluctuet aer* (VI. 367). There are *belli fluctus* (V. 1289); *belli æstus* (V. 1435); *nigras lethargi undas* (III. 829); *mentis æstus* (III. 173), *curarum tristis in pectore fluctus* (VI. 34); waves of trouble (V. 11); of anger (VI. 74.)

The sea is used in many illustrations. Everything is produced from a definite seed; if it were not so

cur homines tantos natura parare
non potuit, pedibus qui pontum per vada possent
transire et magnos manibus divellere montis? (I. 199).

Nature dissolves, but does not destroy, else

unde mare ingenuei fontes externaque longe
flumina suppeditant? (I. 230).

The movements of the ether are likened to the Pontus (V. 506). The invisibility of atoms is no proof of their non-existence:

denique fluctifrago suspensa in litore vestes
urescunt, eadem dispansae in sole serescunt.
at neque quo pacto persederit umor aquai
visumst nec rursum quo pacto fugerit aestu (I. 305).⁸⁶

Almost the same illustration explains the formation of clouds (VI. 470). The theory of images, their exceeding fineness, is thus illustrated:

denique in os salsi venit umor saepe saporis,
cum mare versamur propter (IV. 222).

The production and sound of thunder is compared to the breaking of waves (VI. 142, p. 151).

From navigation many points are illustrated. The argument for the trustworthiness of the senses:

qua vehimur navi, fertur, cum stare videtur;
quae manet in statione, ea praeter creditur ire.
et fugere ad puppim colles campique videntur
quos agimus praeter navem velisque volamus (IV. 387);

in pelago nautis ex undis ortus in undis
sol fit uti videatur obire et condere lumen;
quippe ubi nil aliud nisi aquam caelumque tuentur;
ne leviter credas labefactari undique sensus.
at maris ignaris in portu clauda videntur
navigia aplustris fractis obnitier undae.
nam quaecumque supra rorem salis edita pars est
remorum, recta est, et recta superne gubernata:
quae demersa liquorem obeunt, refracta videntur
omnia converti sursumque supina reverti
et reflexa prope in summo fluitare liquore (IV. 432).

⁸⁶ For other aspects of the shore see p. 159.

The body is moved by the mind, a thin, invisible substance as the ship by the wind:

quippe etenim ventus suptili corpore tenvis
trudit agens magnam magno molimine navem
et manus una regit quantovis impete euntem
atque gubernaculum contorquet quolibet unum,
multaque per trocleas et tympana pondere magno
commovet atque levi sustollit machina nisu (IV. 901).

The same idea is found in a simile IV. 897.

The theory that color is not a property of atoms is illustrated from the whitening of the sea in foam:

ut mare, cum magni commorunt aequora venti,
vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus;
.
.
.
quod si caeruleis constarent aequora ponti
seminibus, nullo possent albescere pacto (II. 763).

The stormy aspect of the sea is shown in other passages as well as in some of the illustrations already quoted.

nam fit ut interdum tamquam demissa columna
in mare de caelo descendat, quam freta circum
fervescunt graviter spirantibus incita flabris,
et quaecumque in eo tum sint deprensa tumultu
navigia in summum veniant vexata periculum.
hoc fit ubi interdum non quit vis incita venti
rumpere quam coepit nubem, sed deprimit, ut sit
in mare de caelo tamquam demissa columna
paulatim, quasi quid pugno bracchique superne
coniectu trudatur et extendatur in undas;
quam cum discidit, hinc prorumpitur in mare venti
vis et fervorem mirum concinnat in undis;
versabundus enim turbo descendit et illam
deducit pariter lento cum corpore nubem;
quam simul ac gravidam detrusit ad aequora ponti,
ille in aquam subito totum se iumittit et omne
excitat ingenti sonitu mare fervere cogens (VI. 426);

summa etiam cum vis violenti per mare venti
induperatorem classis super aequora verrit
cum validis pariter legionibus atque elephantis,
non divom pacem votis adit ac prece quaesit

ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas,
nequiquam, quoniam violento turbine saepe
correptus nilo fertur minus ad vada leti? (V. 1226);

(cf. VI. 256). It hinders man by holding the lands apart.
(V. 203, p. 164.) Other aspects are shown in the following:
the surf on the shore:

insula
quam fluitans circum magnis anfractibus aequor
Ionium glaucis aspargit virus ab undis (I. 720);

the sea birds about the shore:

accipitres atque ossifragae mergique marinis
fluctibus in salso victum vitamque petentes (V. 1079);

the shells upon the beach:

concharumque genus parili ratione videmus
pingere telluris gremium, qua mollibus undis
litoris incurvi bibulam pavit aequor harenam (II. 374).

References to the sea in scientific explanations are found
VI. 552; 694; 890.

The sea is: *aequor* or *aequora ponti* (I. 8; II. 781; IV. 410; V. 1000; VI. 474; 628); *acerbus* (*Neptuni corpus acerbum*, II. 472); *altus* (III. 784; 1030; V. 374; *gurgēs*, V. 387; 914 1434); *avidus* (I. 1031); *caeruleus*, (II. 772); *caerulus* (*ponti plaga caerulea*, V. 481); *canus* (*canos fluctus candenti marmore* (II. 767); *glaucus* (I. 719); *infidus* (II. 557); *immanis* (IV. 410); *immensus* (II. 590); *liquidus* (*liquidam molem camposque natantis*, VI. 405; 1142); *magnus* (II. 1; 553; III. 1029; V. 276; VI. 144; 505,); 615 *mollis* (*unda*, II. 375); *naviger* (I. 3); *profundus* (V. 417); *rapidus* (I. 720); *ridens* (*unda*, V. 1005); *sacrus* (*unda* V. 222); *salsus* (III. 493; 1031; V. 128; 482; 794; 1050; VI. 634; 891; 894); *sonorus* (V. 35); *subdolus* (II. 559; V. 1005); *turbidus* (V. 1000).

The shore is: *bibulus* (*harena*, II. 376); *fluctifragus* (I. 305); *incurvus* (II. 376).

The sea is figuratively represented as a field; *campos natantis* (V. 488; VI. 405; 1142), *iam mare velivolis florebat puppibus* (V. 1442); as *sudor maris* (II. 465), and by the term *velivulus* (V. 1442) is implied an analogy with the sky. It

is endowed with life, by the use of the epithets *avidus* and *saevus*, and in the description of its effects upon rocks and walls:

aestus ab undis

aequoris exesor moerorum litora circum (IV. 219; cf. I. 326),

and more definitely personified, in the descriptions of its cruelty and perfidy to man. In the golden age,

hic temere incassum frustra mare saepe coortum
saevibat leviterque minas ponebat inanis,
nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti
subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis,
improba naucleri ratio cum caeca iacebat (V. 1002),

(cf. II. 556). This enemy Xerxes overcame:

viam qui quondam per mare magnum
stravit iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum
ac pedibus salsas docuit superare lucunas
et contempsit equis insultans murmura ponti (III. 1029).

Sailors wage war with the wind (IV. 968).

Streams The most elaborate simile is that where the force of wind is compared to a stream in flood:

nec ratione fluunt alia stragemque propagant
et cum mollis aquae fertur natura repente
flumine abundanti, quam largis imbribus auget
montibus ex altis magnus decursus aquai
fragmina coniciens silvarum arbustaque tota,
nec validi possunt pontes venientis aquai
vim subitam tolerare: ita magno turbidus imbri
molibus incurrit validis cum viribus amnis (I. 280).

The formation of the earth is compared to the settling of mud in a stream or pond:

Sic igitur terrae concreta corpore pondus
constitit atque omnis mundi quasi limus in inum
confluxit gravis et subsedit funditus ut faex;
inde mare inde aer inde aether ignifer ipse
corporibus liquidis sunt omnia pura relictæ,
et leviora aliis alia, et liquidissimus aether
atque levissimus aeris super influit auras,
nec liquidum corpus turbantibus aeris auris
commiscet (V. 495).

The sun is several times compared to a fountain:

illud item non est mirandum, qua ratione
tantulus ille queat tantum sol mittere lumen,
quod maria ac terras omnis caelumque rigando
compleat et calido perfundat cuncta vapore.
nam licet hinc mundi patefactum totius unum
largifluum fontem scatere atque erumpere lumen,
.
nonne vides etiam quam late parvus aquai
prata riget fons interdum campisque redundet? (V. 592).

Figurative use of *rigare* and *inrigare* occurs also V. 281; IV. 203 of the sun; of sleep IV. 908; of the action of the will:

principium dat et hinc motus per membra rigantur (II. 262).

Flow of language is compared to a full stream:

hoc tibi de plano possum promittere, Memmi:
usque adeo largos haustus e fontibu' magnis
lingua meo suavis diti de pectore fundet (I. 411).

The magnet's power is regarded as a stream:

inpellant ut eam Magnesia flumine saxa (VI. 1064).

There are also *sanguinis* . . . *calidum de pectore flumen* (II. 354), and rivers of odors:

unde fluens volvat varius se fluctus odorum (IV. 675).

Fear of death is *fontem curarum* (III. 82). The verb *derivare* is figuratively used in the following:

nec vitulorum aliae species per pabula laeta
derivare queunt animum curaque levare (II. 364).

The constant dropping of water will wear away stone (IV. 1286).

The reliability of the senses is illustrated from a stream:

denique ubi in medio nobis ecus acer obhaesit
flumine et in rapidas amnis despeximus undas,
stantis equi corpus transversum ferre videtur
vis et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim,
et quocumque oculos traieciimus omnia ferri
et fluere adsimili nobis ratione videntur (IV. 420).

The explanation of images is illustrated from reflection in water (IV. 99), the argument for the reliability of the senses from the same:

at conlectus aquae digitum non altior unum,
qui lapides inter sistit per strata viarum,
despectum praebet sub terras inpete tanto,
a terris quantum caeli patet altus hiatus:
nubila dispicere et caelum ut videare videre
corpora mirando sub terras abdita caelo (IV. 415).

The swiftness of the motion of images must be great:

quod simul ac primum sub diu splendor aquai
ponitur, extemplo caelo stellante serena
sidera respondent in aqua radiantia mundi (IV. 211).

If living beings were on the other side of the earth they would be:

ut per aquas quae nunc rerum simulacra videmus (I. 1060).

An explanation of the motion of the stars may be that an air flows below and moves them,

ut fluvios versare rotas atque haustra videmus (V. 516).

The movement of images is *frigus ut a fluviis* (IV. 219; cf. IV. 675).

In addition to the foregoing aspects of streams there are streams flowing through level country:

nec tenerae salices atque herbae rore vigentes
fluminaque illa queunt summis labentia ripis
oblectare animum subitamque avertere curam (II. 361);

mountain streams, *magnas e . . . montibus undas* (I. 1036), and streams in flood, (cf. I. 280, p. 160).

nec tanto possent venientes opprimere imbri,
flumina abundare ut facerent, camposque natare,
si non exstructis foret alte nubibus aether (VI. 266).

They are more picturesquely described in the following:

et variae volucres, laetantia quae loca aquarum
concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque (II. 344),

and in the account of the primitive man:

at sedare sitim fluvii fontesque vocabant,
 ut nunc montibus e magnis decursus aquai
 claru' citat late sitientia saecula ferarum.
 denique nota vagi silvestria templa tenebant
 nympharum, quibus e scibant umori' fluenta
 lubrica proluvie larga lavere umida saxa,
 umida saxa, super viridi stillantia musco,
 et partim plano scatere atque erumpere campo (V. 945).

The Nile is described in VI. 712.

Streams are represented by epithet as: *abundans* (I. 282); *altus* (VI. 143); *amoenus* (*fons*, IV. 1024); *gelidus* (VI. 1172); *largus* (*unda*, I. 1031); *lubricus* (*fluentum*, V. 949); *magnus* (I. 296; 1086); *perennis* (V. 463); *radens* (V. 256); *rapax* (I. 17; V. 341); *rapidus* (I. 15); (*unda*, I. 421); *validus* (IV. 291).

Streams are endowed with life in the following:

ad caput amnibus omnis
 convenit, inde super terras fluit agmine dulci
 qua via secta semel liquido pede detulit undas (V. 270).

et mora quae fluvios passim refrenat euntis (VI. 531);

ripas radentia flumina rodunt (V. 256), and also by the use of such epithets as *rapax* and *validus*. No more definite personalization is found, however.

There are mountains of cloud and hail (VI. 159). The climbing of mountains illustrates difficulty in attainment and peace in attainment:

Mountains

ardua dum metuunt, amittunt vera viai (I. 659).

Epicurus

et finem statuit cuppedinis atque timoris
 exposuitque bonum summum quo tendimus omnes (VI. 25),

and when the heights are reached there is peace; for

—nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
 edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
 despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
 errare atque viam palantis quærere vitae (II. 7).

A few illustrations only are taken from mountains. Everything comes from a fixed seed, else why are there not men strong enough *magnos manibus divellere montis* (I. 201). In the argument for the trustworthiness of the senses, with many other illustrations from nature, occurs the following:

exstantisque procul medio de gurgite montis
classibus inter quos liber patet exitus ingens,
insula coniunctis tamen ex his una videtur (IV. 397).

The constant change of material forms is illustrated by the wearing away of mountains:

denique non monimenta virum dilapsa videmus
quaerere proporro sibi sene senescere credas,
non ruere avolsos silices e montibus altis (V. 311).

The invisible motion of atoms is illustrated from the appearance of a distant plain where soldiers are moving, from a hill:

et tamen est quidam locus altis montibus unde
stare videntur et in campis consistere fulgor (II. 331),

and of the hill from the plain (II. 317, p. 178).

The action of lightning upon dry clouds is likened to that of fire in laurel woods on mountains:

aridior porro si nubes accipit ignem,
urit in ingenti sonitu succensa repente;
lauricomos ut si per montis flamma vagetur
turbine ventorum comburens impete magno (VI. 150).

Mountains are useless to man and as such are classified with other useless regions:

principio quantum caeli tegit impetus ingens,
inde avidei partem montes silvaeque ferarum
possedere, tenent rupes vastaeque paludes
et mare quod late terrarum distinet oras (V. 200).

They are the home of wild beasts, to be avoided:

ita ad satietatem terra ferarum
nunc etiam scatit et trepido terrore repleta est
per nemora ac montes magnos silvasque profundas
quae loca vitandi plerumque est nostra potestas (V. 39)

cf. V. 824; 947).

Mountains and woods are the home of primitive man (V. 955; 992); on mountains the trees, rubbing their branches together, cause fire (I. 597); they are the home of clouds (VI. 459), wind (VI. 469) and snow, (VI. 963). Volcanoes are described in I. 722; II. 593; VI. 680.

A sense of the grandeur and peace of mountain regions is felt in the following:

inde minutatim dulcis didicere querellas,
tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum,
avia per nemora ac silvus saltusque reperta,
per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia (V. 1384).

Probably *avia pieridum* (I. 926), refers to similar regions, and the following, most distinctly of all, used to illustrate the theory of sound:

quo pacto per loca sola
saxa paris formas verborum ex ordine reddant,
palantis comites quom montis inter opacos
quaerimus et magna dispersos voce ciemus.
sex etiam aut septem loca vidi reddere vocis,
unam cum iaceres: ita colles collibus ipsi
verba repulsantes iterabant docta referri.
haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere
finitimi fingunt et faunos esse locuntur
quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
adfirmant volgo taciturna silentia rumpi
chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas,
tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum (IV. 573).

Mountains are described as: *altus* (I. 283; II. 331; IV. 1020; V. 313; 492; 663; VI. 469; 733; 735; 963); *avidus* (V. 201); *cavus* (V. 955); *magnus* (I. 201; 897; IV. 140; V. 41; 824; 946, 1244; VI. 191; 499; 786); *lauricomus* (VI. 152); *opacus* (IV. 575); *viridis* (*collis*, II. 322). There is a slight personalization in the expressions *avidei montes* (V. 201), and *lauricomos montes* (VI. 152), and in the verbs *minari* and *furere* used of Aetna (I. 722; II. 593).

Woods Woods are not often even mentioned, and when they are it is usually in connection with mountains, whither man has driven them gradually by cultivation of the earth:

inque dies magis in montem succedere silvas
cogebant infraque locum concedere cultis (V. 1370).

Other passages referring to woods are I. 897; V. 41, 201; 955; 992.

In most of these passages they are shown as the home of wild beasts, and as places to be avoided in general. In the following a different aspect is shown:

hinc laetas urbes pueris florere videmus
frondiferasque novis avibus canere undique silvas (I. 255);
et variae volucres
. . . quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitantes (II. 344),

(cf. V. 1386, p. 165).

Epithets are: *avicus* (*nemus*, II. 346; V. 1386); *creber* (VI. 135); *frondifer* (I. 18; 256; II. 359); *ingens* (V. 1243); *profundus* (V. 41).

Laurel woods are the hair of mountains (VI. 152, p. 165).

Lucretius has much to say of the growth of plants and the earth as the source of their growth. The efficiency of the sun, so small a body, in lighting the whole world, is illustrated from a burning grain field:

quod genus interdum segetes stipulamque videmus
accedere ex una scintilla incendia passim (V. 608).

The first growth of plants upon the earth is picturesquely described:

principio genus herbarum viridemque nitorem
terra dedit circum collis camposque per omnis,
florida fulserunt viridanti prata colore (V. 783).

The earth and its fields are *daedalus* (*tellus*, I. 7; 228); *dulcis* (*agellus*, V. 1367); *fecundus* (*gleba*, I. 211); *ferax* (II. 1098); *floridus* (*pratium*, V. 785); *frugifer* (*terra*, I. 3); *frugiferens* (I. 3); *mollis*, (*arvum*, V. 780); *omniparens* (*terra*, II.

706); *virens* (*campus*, I. 18); *viridis* (*saltus*, II. 355; *nitor*, V. 783); *vividus* (*tellus*, I. 178).

Products of the earth are *frugiparus* (*fetus*, VI. 1); *lactificus* (*fetus*, I. 193); *lactus* (*pabulum*, I. 14; 257; II. 317; 364; 596; 875; 1159); *vineta* (II. 1157; V. 1372); *nitidus* (*fruges*, I. 252; II. 594; 994; 1157).

Trees are *altus* (I. 897; II. 30; V. 935; 1393); (*arbusta*, VI. 140); *dulcis* (*pomum*, V. 1377); *lactus* (*arbusta*, II. 594; 699; 994; V. 921); *magnus* (I. 274); *glandifer* (*quercus*, V. 939); *tener* (*salices* II. 36).

Of other plants are the following: *teneras herbas* (I. 260), *viridantes herbas* (II. 33; V. 1396), *herbae rore vigentes* (II. 362), *herbae gemmantis rore recenti* (II. 319), *gramine molli* (II. 29; V. 1392).

The various sorts of cultivated trees in the country are shown (V. 1370, p. 185).

Plants are figuratively represented:

arboribusque datumst variis exinde per auras
crescendi magnum inmissis certamen habenis.
ut pluma atque pili primum saetaeque creantur
quadrupedum membris et corpore pennipotentum. (V. 786).

As instances of the effect of different kinds of atoms on the sense of taste are noted the *taetra absinthii natura ferique centauri* (II. 400) and the *amaror* of wormwood is referred to in VI. 929, and again in illustration of the argument:

praeterea quaecumque suo de corpore odorem
expirant acrem. panaces absinthia taetra
habrotonique graves et tristia centaurea (IV. 123):

That particles emitted from bodies act differently on different things is illustrated from the effect of plants on animals and man:

barbigeras oleaster eo iuvat usque capellas,
effluat ambrosius quasi vero. et nectare tinctus:
qua nil est homini quod amariu' frondeat esca.
denique amaracinum fugitat sus et timet omne
ungentum: nam saetigeris subus acre venenumst,
quod nos interdum tamquam recreare videtur (VI. 970).

Similarly, *cicuta*, is cited V. 899; *veratrum*, IV. 640.

The scent of nard is described:

et nardi florem, nectar qui naribus halat (II. 848).

Things made up of rough atoms produce an unpleasant taste,

faecula iam quo de genere est inulaeque sapor (II. 430).

The sound of burning laurel on the mountains illustrates that caused by lightning in a dry cloud:

nec res ulla magis quam Phoebi Delphica laurus
terribili sonitu flamma crepitante crematur (VI. 154).

The pear and arbutus were valued by primitive man:

vel pretium, glandes atque arbita vel pira lecta (V. 965),

and the arbutus is characteristic of winter:

. . . et quae nunc hiberno tempore cernis
arbita puniceo fieri matura colore (V. 940).

Poppy seeds and ears of grain are typical of lightness and roughness respectively:

namque papaveris aura potest suspensa levisque
cogere ut ab summo tibi diffluat altus acervus;
at contra lapidum conlectum spicarumque⁸⁸
noenu potest (III. 196).

Flowers play a very minor part. They are characteristic of spring (I. 8; V. 740), the rose in particular, (I. 174.) and flowers are figuratively used of poetry,

iuvatque novos decerpere flores
insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae (I. 923; IV. 3).

Flos is figuratively used of perfume, *nardi florem* (II. 848), of flame,

donec flammai fulserunt flore coorto (I. 900, cf. IV. 450.)

of youth I. 564 (cf. *florere* IV. 450).

⁸⁸ Unless the metrical difficulty be considered insurmountable, Brieger's vindication of *spicarumque* (Burs-Jahresb. 1873), seems ample ground for retaining it.

Floridus is used literally of meadows (V. 785), figuratively, *novitas florida mundi* (V. 943). *Florere*⁸⁷ is common:

iam mare velivolis florebat puppibus (V. 1442).

florentia lumina flammis (IV. 450); also I. 124; 255; 1034; III. 897; 1008; V. 329; 884; 888; 912; 1164; *florescere* is used II. 74; V. 895. *Florifer* is literally used (*gloriferis saltibus* III. 11), and flower-sprinkled turf is described in II. 33. The crocus' perfume is referred to in II. 416. Flowers are *suavis* (I. 8). Showers of roses are compared to snow in the account of the procession of Cybele:

aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum
largifica stipe ditantes ninguntque rosarum
floribus umbrantes matrem comitumque catervas (II. 626).

Animals The existence of animals hostile to man is cited as an argument for the non-divine origin of the world:

praeterea genus horrifera natura ferarum
humanae genti infestum terraque marique
cur alit atque auget? (V. 218),

and again the advantages that animals have in some ways over man:

at variae crescent pecudes armenta feraeque
nec crepitacillis opus est nec cuiquam adhibendast
almae nutricis blanda atque infracta loquella
nec varias quaerunt vestes pro tempore caeli,
denique non armis opus est, non moenibus altis,
qui sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia large
tellus ipsa parit natura daedala rerum (V. 223).

The exceeding fineness of "images," is illustrated from minute living forms:

primum animalia sunt iam partim tantula, quorum
tertia pars nulla possit ratione videri.
horum intestinum quodvis quale esse putandumst!
quid cordis globus aut oculi? quid membra? quid artus?
quantula sunt! quid praeterea primordia quaeque
unde anima atque animi constet natura necessumst? (IV. 116).

⁸⁷ Serv. ad Aen. VII, 804 (*florentes aere catervae*) "Ennius et Lucretius *florere* dicunt omne quod nitidum est."

It is not hard to understand how man developed language when we notice the elements of the same thing in animals.

cum pecudes mutae, cum denique saecula ferarum
dissimilis soleant voces variasque ciere,
cum metus aut dolor est et cum iam gaudia gliscunt (V. 1059).

So too necessity drove them to the use of language as it drives animals to various actions:

cornua nata prius vitulo quam frontibus extent,
illis iratus petit atque infestus inurget.
at catuli pantherarum scymnique leonum
unguibus ac pedibus iam tum morsuque repugnant,
vix etiam cum sunt dentes unguisque creati.
alituum porro genus alis omne videmus
fidere et a pinnis tremulum petere auxiliatum (V. 1034).

That the mind like the body springs from a fixed seed is shown by the persistence of certain qualities in certain animals:

Denique cur acris violentis triste leonum
seminium sequitur, volpes dolus, et fuga cervos,
et iam cetera de genere hoc cur omnia membris
ex ineunte aevo generascunt ingenioque,
.
quod si immortalis foret ⁸⁸ et mutare soleret
corpora, permixtis animantes moribus essent,
effugeret canis Hyrcano de semine saepe
cornigeri incursum cervi tremeretque per auras
aeris accipiter fugiens veniente columba (III. 741).

That the earth contains the elements of many different things is certain,

saepe itaque ex uno tondentes gramina campo
lanigerae pecudes et equorum duellica proles
buceriaeque greges eodem sub tegmine caeli
ex unoque sitim sedantes flumine aquai
dissimili vivont specie retinentque parentum
naturam (II. 661).

⁸⁸ vis animi.

Sentient beings are made up of senseless atoms,

quippe videre licet vivos existere vermes
stercore de taetro, putorem cum sibi nacta est
intempestivis ex imbribus umida tellus;
praeterea cunctas itidem res vertere sese,
vertunt se fluvii frondes et pabula laeta
in pecudes, vertunt pecudes in corpora nostra
naturam, et nostro de corpore saepe ferarum
augescunt vires et corpora pennipotentum (II. 871).

Plants and trees are *fetus* of the earth.

sed genuit tellus eadem quae nunc alit ex se.
praeterea nitidas fruges vinetaque laeta
sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,
ipsa dedit dulcis fetus et pabula laeta (II. 1156).

The characteristics of animals are determined by the prevalence of one or another of the elements of the soul in their natures:

quo genere in primis vis est violenta leonum
pectora qui fremitu rumpunt plerumque gementes
nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt.
at ventosa magis cervorum frigida mens est
.
.
.
at natura boum placido magis aere vivit,
nec nimis irai fax umquam subdita percit
fumida, suffundens caecae caliginis umbra,
nec gelidis torpet telis perfixa pavoris (III. 236).

Different animals are attracted by different sorts of odors:

ideoque per auras
mellis apes quamvis longe ducuntur odore,
vulturique cadaveribus. tum fissa ferarum
ungula quo tulerit gressum promissa canum vis
ducit, et humanum longe praesentit odorem
Romulidarum arcis servator: candidus anser (IV. 673).

Animals know each other as men do (II. 349, p. 179).

The characteristics which protect different kinds of animals are shown in V. 866. Succession of generations among animals is likened to a race:

et quasi cursores vitae lampada trahunt (II. 79).

Sentient beings arise from senseless atoms,

quatenus in pullos animalis vertier ova
cernimus alituum vermisque effervere, terram
intempestivos quom putor cepit ob imbris,
scire licet gigni posse ex non sensibu' sensus (II. 927).

The persistency of the markings of birds implies a basis of indestructible atoms:

. . . variae volucres ut in ordine cunctae
ostendant maculas generalis corpore inesse (I. 589).

Birds' feathers are used in an illustration in III. 386, (p. 174).

The notes of different birds under different circumstances illustrate the development of human speech:

postremo genus alituum variaeque volucres,
accipitres atque ossifragae mergique marinis
fluctibus in salso victum vitamque petentes,
longe alias alio iaciunt in tempore voces,
et quom de victu certant praedaeque repugnant.
et partim mutant cum tempestatibus una
raucisonos cantus, cornicum ut saecula vetusta
corvorumque greges ubi aquam dicuntur et imbris
poscere et interdum ventos aurasque vocare (V. 1078).

Birds are sympathetically described in the following account of the avernian regions:

e regione ea quod loca cum venere volantes,
remigi oblita pennarum vela remittunt
praecipitesque cadunt molli cervice profusae (VI. 742).

The song of birds is heard at dawn when

aera per tenerum liquidis loca vocibus opplent (II. 146),

and it was from the song of birds that men learned the elements of music:

at liquidas avium voces imitauer ore
ante fuit multo quam levia carmina cantu
concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuvare. (V. 1379)

Birds announce the coming of spring:

aeriae primum volucres, te, diva, tuumque
significant initum percussae corda tua vi (I. 12).

Birds are *genus alituum* V. 801; 1039; 1078; VI. 1216. They are *aerius* (I. 12; V. 825); *pennipotens* (II. 878; V. 789); *varius* (I. 589; II. 145; 344; V. 801; 1078); *varians* (*forma*, V. 825).

The fact that atoms are colorless is proved by the persistency of color in the raven and swan:

conveniebat enim corvos quoque saepe volantis
ex albis album pinnis iactare colorem,
et nigros fieri nigro de semine cyenos
aut alio quovis uno varioque colore (II. 822).

The raven and crow (*cornix*) are heralds of rain (V. 1084, p. 172). The swan is used in an illustration (II. 823) and is typical of the great, in contrast with the minor poet, (Epicurus and Lucretius), the latter represented by the swallow:

. . . quid enim contendat hirundo
cyenis (III. 6).

and of literary work persuasive rather than copious:

suavidicis potius quam multis versibus edam;
parvus ut est cyeni melior canor, ille gruum quam
clamor in aetheriis dispersus nubibus austri (IV. 180, 910).

The swan's song is instanced with the lyre as the most musical of sounds:

et cycnea mele Phoebeaque daedala chordis
carmina consimili ratione oppressa silerent (II. 505),

and again in contrast with the trumpet:

nec simili penetrant auris primordia forma,
cum tuba depresso graviter sub murmure mugit
et reboat raucum regio cita barbara bombum,
et validis cyeni torrentibus ex Heliconis
cum liquidam tollunt lugubri voce querellam (IV. 544).

The hawk appears in an illustration (III. 752, p. 170), and in V. 1079, the quail (*coturnix*):

praeterea nobis veratrum est acre venenum,
at capris adipēs et coturnicibus auget (IV. 640).

the vulture IV. 680, (p. 171); The crow *cornix* V. 1084, (p. 172); with the epithet *raucus* in VI. 751; the swallow,

hirundo, III. 6, (p. 173) crane, *grus* IV. 181; 910, (p. 173) dove, *columba*, II. 801; III. 752, (p. 170) diver, *mergus*, gull, *ossifraga*, V. 1079, (p. 172).

That atoms are themselves colorless is shown from the changeable color of the plumage of the dove and peacock:

pluma columbarum quo pacto in sole videtur,
quae sita cervices circum collumque coronat;
namque alias fit uti claro sit rubra pyropo,
interdum quodam sensu fit uti videatur
inter curialium viridis miscere zmaragdos.
caudaque pavonis, larga cum luce repleta est,
consimili mutat ratione obversa colores (II. 801).

The peacock is also:

aurea pavonum ridenti imbuta lepore
saecla (II. 502),

and is typical of beauty of color as in the same passage the swan's song is typical of sweetness of sound.

To the goose is applied the epithet *candidus* (IV. 683, p. 171,) and the cock inspiring terror in the lion is an illustration of the fact that the same object has not the same effect upon the sight of all animals:

quin etiam gallum, noctem explaudentibus alis
auroram clara consuetum voce vocare,
noenu queunt rabidi contra constare leones
inque tueri (IV. 710).

Images are very thin and easily unite with each other:

tenvia, quae facile inter se iunguntur in auris,
obvia cum veniunt, ut aranea bratteaque auri. (IV. 726),

and spiderwebs, with floating feathers and seeds, are types of extreme minuteness, in the argument for the rarity of the soul's atoms in the body:

nam neque pulveris interdum sentimus adhaesum
corpore nec membris incussam sidere cretam,
nec nebulam noctu neque aranei tenvia fila
obvia sentimus, quando obretimur euntes,
nec supera caput eiusdem cecidisse vietam
vestem nec plumas avium papposque volantis

qui nimia levitate cadunt plerumque gravatim,
nec repentis itum cuiusviscumque animantis
sentimus nec priva pedum vestigia quaeque,
corpore quae in nostro culices et cetera ponunt (III. 381).

The nature of images is illustrated from the cast off skins of cicadas and snakes:

ut olim
cum teretis ponunt tunicas aestate cicadae,
et vituli cum membranas de corpore summo
nascentes mittunt, et item cum lubrica serpens
exiit in spinis vestem: nam saepe videmus
illorum spoliis vepres volitantibus auctas (IV. 57).

Birds are described as originating spontaneously from eggs, in the early days of the world:

folliculos ut nunc teretis aestate cicadae
lineunt sponte sua victum vitamque petentes (V. 803).

Lucretius compares himself to a bee sipping the honey of Epicurus' works:

tuisque ex, inclute, chartis,
floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta (III. 10).

The bee is again mentioned in IV. 679 (p. 171).

The apparent spontaneous generation of worms, is proof that sentient beings can be made up of non-sentient elements (II. 871; 899; 928; p. 171).

The passage of fish through the water illustrates the theory of void:

cedere squamigeris latices nitentibus aiunt
et liquidas aperire vias, quia post loca pisces
linquant quo possint cedentes confluere undae (I. 372).

They are *squamiger* (I. 162; 378; II. 1053); *mutae* . . .
natantes squamigerum pecudes (II. 342); *squamigeris nitentibus* (I. 372).

A certain species of snake helps illustrate the principle that a substance harmless to one creature may harm another:

ut quod ali cibus est aliis fuit aere venenum.
extetque ut serpens, hominis quae tacta salivis
disperit ac sese, mandendo conficit ipsa (IV. 637).

The soul can not be immortal, since it can be divided, as we see it in the wounded snake:

quin etim tibi si, lingua vibrante, micanti
serpentis cauda e procero corpore, utrumque
sit libitum in multas partis discidere ferro,
omnia iam sorsum cernes ancisa recenti
vulnere tortari et terram conspargere tabo,
ipsam seque retro partem petere ore priorem,
volneris ardenti ut morsu premat icta dolorem (III. 657).

If the soul were immortal, it would not complain at its dissolution,

sed magis ire foras vestemque relinquere ut anguis (III. 614)
(cf. IV. 60).

The snake again is used in a figure (*lubrica serpens*), in IV. 60; (p. 175).

In the early days of the world, men

per caelum solis volventia lustra
volgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum (V. 931),

and they tried to use various animals in warfare, unsuccessfully, for they were intractable:

nec poterant ullam partem reducere eorum;
diffugiebat enim varium genus omne ferarum (V. 1337).

Wild animals are the enemies of man (V. 218; p. 169). In spring the spirits of animals awake with other things:

inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta
et rapidos tranant amnis (I. 14).

but the most interesting representation is

omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibu' passim (V. 824).

Wild animals are *fera saecula ferarum* (III. 753); *horrifer* (V. 218); *silvestria saecula ferarum* (V. 967), and *montivagus* (I. 404; *genus*, II. 597, 1081). The elephant is *anguimanus elephantos* (II. 537; V. 1303), *bos lucae* (V. 1302; 1339). The boar was one of the animals unsuccessfully tried in war, together with the lion,

expertique sues *saevos* sunt mittere in hostis (V. 1309);

and the same two are named as objects of terror to primitive man:

eiectique domo fugiebant saxea tecta
spumigcri suis adventu validique leonis (V. 934).

The young of panthers are used in an illustration (V. 1036, p. 170), the panther as attacking human beings (IV. 1016). The wolf is characterized by treachery (III. 742; V. 863). Most conspicuous are the lion and the deer. Lions are used in illustrations (IV. 712, p. 174; V. 1036, p. 170); III. 741, p. 170; V. 862, cf. III. 741, p. 170).

They were tried in warfare:

nequiquam, quoniam permixta caede calentes
 turbabant saevi nullo discrimine turmas;
 terrificas capitum quatientes undique cristas (V. 1313).

They are designated as, *acer* (*genus* V. 862); *fulvus* (V. 901); *rabidus* (IV. 712); *saevus*, (III. 306; IV. 1016; *saecla*, V. 862; 1313); *tristis* (*leonum seminium* III. 741); *validus* (V. 985; 1310); *violentus* (*vis*, III. 296).

The deer illustrates the effect of the prevalence of the element of wind in the soul (III. 299, p. 171). One must not believe that the gods draw souls down into the lower world:

naribus alipedes ut cervi saepe putantur
 ducere de latebris serpentia saecla ferarum (VI. 765).

Deer are protected by their power of rapid flight (III. 742). They are *alipes* (VI. 765), and *corniger* (III. 751).

Domestic animals are conspicuous.

They are *laeta armenta* (II. 343), *mutae pecudes* (V. 1059), *variae pecudes* (V. 228). As wild animals have preserved their species through various inborn qualities, so certain forms have been preserved by the protection of man:

Multaque tum interiisse animantum saecla necessest
 nec potuisse propagando procudere prolem.
 nam quaecumque vides vesei vitalibus auris,
 aut dolus aut virtus aut denique mobilitas est
 ex ineunte aevo genus id tutata reservans.
 multaque sunt, nobis ex utilitate sua quae

commendata manent, tutelae tradita nostrae.
 principio genus acre leonum saevaue saecla
 tutatast virtus, volpes dolus et fuga cervos.
 at levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda
 et genus omne quod est veterino semine partum
 lanigeraeque simul pecudes et bucera saecla
 omnia sunt hominum tutelae tradita, Memmi (V. 855).

Pasturing herds figure in the famous picture:

hinc fessae pecudes pingui per pabula laeta
 corpora deponunt et candens lacteus umor
 uberibus manat distentis hinc nova proles
 artubus infirmis teneras lasciva per herbas
 ludit lacte mero mentes percussa novellas (I. 257).

In illustrations drawn from the effect of the same food on different beings, the goat is found (IV. 642; V. 900; VI. 970) and in the argument for variety in the shapes of atoms:

praeterea teneri tremulis cum vocibus haedi
 cornigeras norunt matres agnique petulci
 balantum pecudes: ita quod natura reposcit,
 ad sua quisque fere decurrunt ubera lactis (II. 367).

Epicurus is to Lucretius in genius, as the horse to the kid in speed:

—quidnam tremulis facere artubus haedi
 consimile in cursu possint et fortis equi vis? (III. 6).

The epithets used of goats are *barbiger* (V. 900; VI. 970); *corniger* (II. 367); *tener* (II. 367).

Diseases of sheep and cattle are compared to those of men. (VI. 1132; 1237). To explain the possibility of moving atoms in things apparently motionless, the sheep on a hillside are instanced:

nam saepe in colli tondentes pabula laeta
 lanigerae reptant pecudes quo quamque vocantes
 invitant herbae gemmantes rore recenti,
 et satiati agni ludunt blandeque coruscant;
 omnia quae nobis longe confusa videntur
 et velut in viridi candor consistere colli (II. 317).

The usual epithet of sheep is *laniger* (II. 318; 622; VI. 1237). There are also; *petulcus* of lambs, (II. 368); *balantum*

pecudes (II. 369); *pigris balantibus* (VI. 1132). Cattle are used in illustrations (III. 302, p. 171; IV. 60, p. 175; V. 1034, p. 170).

The famous description of the cow seeking her calf illustrates the argument for diversity of shape in atoms:

nam saepe ante deum vitulus delubra decora
turieremas propter mactatus concedit aras
sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen;
at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans
noscit humi pedibus vestigia pressa bisuleis,
omnia convisens oculis loca si queat usquam
conspicere amissum fetum, completque querellis
frondiferum nemus absistens et crebra revisit
ad stabulum desiderio perfixa iuveni,
nec tenerae salices atque herbae rore vigentes
fluminaque illa queunt summis labentia ripis
oblectare animum subitamque avertere curam,
nec vitulorum aliae species per pabula laeta
derivare queunt animum curaque levare:
usque adeo quiddam proprium notumque requirit (II. 352).

The verb *mugire* is figuratively used:

cum tuba depresso graviter sub murmure mugit (IV. 545).

Protelum is figuratively used:

versibus ostendens corpuscula material
ex infinito summam rerum usque tenere,
undique protelo plagarum continuato (II. 529);
suppelitatur enim confestim lumine lumen
et quasi protelo stimulaturn fulgere fulgur (IV. 189).

Bulls are among the animals tried in war (V. 1305). Cattle are *bucera saccla* (V. 866; VI. 1237); *buceriae greges* (II. 663). The pig is *saetiger* in an illustration (VI. 969, p. 167).

The sounds made by the horse under different circumstances illustrate the beginnings of language among men:

denique non hinnitus item differre videtur,
inter equas ubi equus florenti aetate iuvenus
pinnigeri saevit calcaribus ictus amoris,
et fremitum patulis ubi naribus edit ad arma,
et cum sic alias concussis artibus hinnit (V. 1073).

To prove the necessity of the "swerve" in the motion of atoms, the race horse is cited:

nonne vides etiam patefactis tempore puncto
carceribus non posse tamen prorumpere equorum
vim cupidam tam de subito quam mens avet ipsa? (II. 263).

The speed of the horse is brought out in III. 8, (p. 178). The verb *refrenare* is used figuratively (I. 850; II. 276; 283; 1121; V. 114; VI. 531, 568); *habenae*,

quis regere immensi summam, quis habere profundi
indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas (II. 1095);
arboribusque datumst variis exinde per auras
crescendi magnum inmissis certamen habenis (V. 786).

The race horse is represented as even in sleep continuing the pursuits of his waking hours:

quippe videbis equos fortis, cum membra iacebunt,
in somnis sudare tamen spirareque semper
et quasi de palma summas contendere viris,
aut quasi carceribus patefactis (IV. 937),

and the nature of the horse is compared with that of man in the discussion of the centaur:

principio circum tribus actis impiger annis
florete ecus, puer hautquaquam; nam saepe etiam nunc
ubera mammarum in somnis lactantia quaeret.
post ubi eum validae vires aetate senecta
membraque deficiunt fugienti languida vita,
tum demum puero illi aevo florente iuventas
occipit (V. 883).

Horses are described as *acer* (IV. 420); *duellicus* (II. 662); *fortis* (IV. 987; *equi vis*, III. 8; 764).

The dog is perhaps the animal most sympathetically described. The origin of human speech is illustrated more fully from it than from any other animal:

quippe etenim licet id rebus cognoscere apertis.
inritata canum cum primum magna Molossum
mollia ricta fremunt duros nudantia dentes,
longe alio sonitu rabie restricta minatur,

et cum iam latrant et vocibus omnia complent.
 et catulos blande cum lingua lambere temptant
 aut ubi eos iactant pedibus morsuque petentes
 suspensis teneros imitantur dentibus haustus,
 longe alio pacto gannitu vocis adulant,
 et cum deserti baubantur in aedibus aut cum
 plorantis fugiunt summisso corpore plagas (V. 1062).

The discussion of the character of odors is illustrated from the hunting dog: (IV. 681, p. 171) and the deceptive quality of odors:

errant saepe canes itaque et vestigia quaerunt (IV. 705).

If everything did not come from a fixed seed,

effugeret canis Hyrcano de semine saepe
 cornigeri incursum cervi tremeretque per auras
 aeris accipiter fugiens veniente columba,
 desiperent homines, sa perent fera saecula ferarum (III. 7)

In the discussion of void is found the following simile:

multaque praeterea tibi possum commemorando
 argumenta fidem dictis conradere nostris.
 verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci
 sunt per quae possis cognoscere cetera tute.
 namque canes ut montivagae persaepe ferai
 naribus inveniunt intactas fronde quietes,
 cum semel institerunt vestigia certa viai,
 sic alid ex alio per te tute ipse videre
 talibus in rebus poteris caecasque latebras
 insinuare omnis et verum protrahere inde (I. 400).

The hunting dog is represented as hunting in sleep:

venantumque canes in molli saepe quiete
 iactant crura tamen subito vocisque repente
 mittunt et crebro reducunt naribus auras,
 ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum,
 expergefactique secuntur inania saepe
 cervorum simulacra. fugae quasi dedita cernant,
 donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se.
 at consueta domi catulorum blanda propago
 discutere et corpus de terra corripere instant
 proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tuantur (IV. 991).

The faithfulness of dogs is shown in

levisomna canum fido cum pectore corda (V. 864),

and *fida canum vis* (VI. 1222).

Summary The greater part of Lucretius' references to nature are found either in purely scientific explanations, or in illustrating from common natural phenomena, philosophical theories or less common phenomena of nature. The first of these has been omitted in the present discussion, except where elements other than scientific are mingled with the science. These references to and descriptions of nature often reveal not only accurate knowledge but also a keen sense of the grandeur and beauty of nature. More illustrations are taken from the sun than from any other part of nature. Yet the sea furnishes almost as many, and owing to the way in which it is used, is on the whole more prominent. Lucretius groups sea, land and sky together as objects of interest to man, and implies but does not specify a choice among them

et simul ac volumus nobis occurrit imago

si mare, si terrast cordi, si denique caelum (IV. 782).

Of true similes not a very large number is found. The sun and the sea figure in the majority of these also.

Of metaphorical expressions, most are taken from the sea and streams. Epithets are abundant as regard number, but meagre in variety. Less than one-half are used but once of the same form of nature. About one-fourth are used of a given form of nature by Lucretius only.

The various manifestations of nature are not often personalized, with the exception of the sea, and the earth. Even the sun, so commonly personified by other poets, appears far oftener merely as a powerful source of heat and light than as "rolling with glowing chariot wheel," or "upholding rosy torch." Personalization of forms and forces of nature, especially such as verge on the mythological, would be foreign to Lucretius' grand conception of the universe, in which "Great Nature" ruled supreme.

"The idea which Lucretius revealed to the world in fuller majesty and life than any previous poet or philosopher, was the idea of nature apprehended not as an abstract conception, but as a power, omnipresent, creative, and regulative⁸¹ throughout the great sphere of earth, sky and sea, and the innumerable varieties of individual existence . . . Nature is to him the one power, absolutely supreme and independent in the universe."⁸⁰ Above her, no power can even be conceived of: Nature is self-creative, self-controlling: "If, well considered, thou holdest fast to this, then does Nature seem, straightway set free, released from haughty lords, of herself, at her own will and through herself, to carry on all things, independent of the gods" (II. 1090). For "who is able to rule the vast universe, to hold and guide the strong reins of the great deep, who is able equally to turn the whole heavens, and warm with etherial fire the fruitful lands, to be present at all times, in all places?" (II. 1095.)

The control of nature extends over every detail of the universe. As no power is above her, so too no minor in-

⁸⁰ These attributes of life are brought out in the expressions *foedera naturæ* (I. 586; II. 302; V. 310; 924; *natura creatrix* (I. 629; II. 1117; V. 1362); *invida natura* (I. 321); *natura daedala rerum* (V. 234); and by very many verbs implying the action of living beings: *creare* (I. 56; II. 224; IV. 785); *alere* (I. 56; V. 220); *nutrare* (I. 56); *resolvere* (I. 57); *parare* (I. 129; 551; IV. 785; VI. 31); *dissolvere* (I. 216; VI. 598); *pati* (I. 224); *reficere* (I. 263); *gerere* (I. 328; II. 242); *concedere* (I. 614; *tenere* (I. 1009); *cogere* (I. 1010; IV. 762; 812; 846; V. 831); *lustrare* (II. 17); *requirere* (II. 23); *dare* (II. 208; V. 186); *pascere* (II. 706); *reicere* (II. 714); *agere videtur* (II. 1090); *perducere* (II. 1117); *refrenare* (II. 1121); *ministrare* (II. 1142; *suppeditare* (III. 23); *mittere vocem* (III. 931); *intendere litem* (III. 950); *exponere* (III. 975); *coeptare* (IV. 405); *intersaepe* (IV. 948); *gubernare* (V. 77); *abducere* (V. 207); *parere* (V. 234); *removere* (V. 350); *convertere* (V. 811); *commutare* (V. 831); *absolvere* (V. 846); *tribuere* (V. 871); *redigere* (V. 877); *subigere* (V. 1028); *constituere* (VI. 226); *tollere* (VI. 470); *reddere* (VI. 608); *molliri* (VI. 646); *deferre* (VI. 1135).

⁸¹ Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, Virgil, p. 204.

dependent power exists beside her, but with direct control she guides all things: "Moreover the courses of the sun, and the wanderings of the moon will I set forth, by what power nature guides them, lest perchance we think that these, between heaven and earth, free, of their own accord traverse their perennial course" (V. 76). Before the might of nature man himself is powerless, and his appeals to gods amid disasters are vain, "So ceaselessly does some hidden force crush human fortunes, and seem to spurn and hold in mockery the lordly rods, and the axes grim" (V. 1233).

The world is a vast organism, through which forever work the powers of nature, which has brought it into being, controls it now, and will bring it sometime to an end.

The earth was evolved by nature from a chaos of disconnected atoms (V. 186). From it sprang plants (V. 783), animals (II. 1151; V. 791), and man himself (V. 805). The earth, mother of all life, is still its support (II. 594; 991), but her power is failing, she is not so fertile as once she was (II. 1150). Moreover many forces are at strife among themselves and one day or another, some one will prevail over the rest. In short, the "triple nature" of the sea and land and sky, "one day will bring to destruction, and, sustained through many years, the fabric and mechanism of the world will fall in ruins" (V. 95). And after this will arise "another and another frame of things," under the controlling power of "Natura Creatrix."

Such a view of nature it is fair to expect, will enhance the author's appreciation of all forms of nature, and color his treatment of detail. This great power, beyond and unheeding of man, must in every manifestation of itself reveal something of its ownessence and energy, its grandeur and sublimity, and rouse in its beholder feelings of wonder, awe, and almost a religious reverence. And in general this is the case, and these feelings toward nature are predominant in the poem. The life, power and energy of nature are everywhere manifest. It is, as has often been remarked,

nature in action, rather than at rest, that is portrayed. All life, both vegetable and animal, interests Lucretius intensely.

The thunder, the earthquake, the volcano, the torrent, are described with power, even where the description is a part of a scientific explanation. The same tendency is evident in the epithets used of nature in brief incidental allusions.

Still, though it is the grand, and the fierce aspects of nature that prevail; and it is in these lines that Lucretius' genius is most remarkable, there is not lacking appreciation of calmer aspects and quiet beauties. This has already been shown in the discussion of the sea. Bits of vivid description, the whitening waves, the soft shell-covered beach, the swaying forest trees, a clouded mountain top, a dewy morning, flash before the eye. In this art of painting a landscape, denied to the Roman writers in general,⁹¹ Lucretius is not altogether lacking, though where various forms of nature are put in juxtaposition, they are more often set forth in a disconnected series, than framed in one setting as an harmonious whole.

There are a few, but only a few, interesting pictures of the Italian country. Primitive man learned gradually to till the earth, and "they compelled forests to retreat to mountains, and the region below to yield to cultivation that they might have meadows, lakes, streams, harvest-fields, and glad vineyards on hills and plains and that the dark sea-blue tint of olive groves parting them might run between their fields spreading over hills and vales and fields, as now you see graced with varied charms all the country which they plant and adorn with pleasant fruit trees and keep set roundabout with happy groves" (V. 1370).

The earth in the light of early morning is pictured.

⁹¹ Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, Vol. II. p. 261.

The air of heaven was squeezed out from the earth in the beginning, just as "when first the golden morning light of the shining sun glows upon the grass begemmed with dew, and ponds and over-flowing rivers exhale clouds, and as the earth itself sometimes seems to smoke" (V. 461).

Scenes in which animal life appear are somewhat more common. "When the dawn sheds fresh light upon the earth and the various sorts of birds flitting through pathless woods, through the tender air fill the place with liquid notes, how suddenly the sun arising at such a time is wont to clothe all things, bathing them with its light, we see is clear to all" (II. 144). There is a picture of a hilly pasture, "for often upon the hill cropping the glad pasture, the woolly flocks stray slow, whithersoever the grass begemmed with fresh dew calls and lures them on, and the contented lambs frisk and playfully butt" (II. 317). We are shown, too, the soft grass near a stream of water beneath the branches of a tall tree where men can enjoy themselves "without great wealth" (II. 29), and where the early races of mankind found their happiness (V. 1392). Yet this does not appeal to Lucretius as a picture, so much as it expresses a simple sensuous delight in nature and her beauty. The same sort of appreciation appears from time to time throughout the descriptions of the life of primitive man in the fifth book. The life then lived was desirable in that it was simple, not, primarily, in that it was close to the heart of nature.

Of the sympathetic or sentimental view of nature, there seems to be little trace, here or elsewhere. The nearest approach to this modern feeling is found in the appreciation shown for high mountain regions,⁹² and in some de-

⁹² Only of these portions of the poem does Biese's assertion "ein deutlicher Ansatz eines melancholisch idyllischen Gefühls für die Schönheit der Natur, für ihre Stille und ihre Frieden im Gegensatz zu der ruhelosen, Glück suchenden und . . . nie findenden Menschenwelt seiner Tage giebt sich . . . zu erkennen" (p. 32), seem fully true. As has been shown above, it is far oftener the stormy than the peaceful aspects of nature that appeal to Lucretius.

scriptions of the sea. While nature herself is endowed with life and power and almost human attributes, while awe and wonder are shown in presence of her majesty, there seems to be no attempt to endow her with a soul, to find in her the reflex of human moods. Lucretius' feeling toward nature, so far as it went, was akin to modern nature-sentiment, but it stopped short of the highest point that modern feeling has touched.

6. GAIUS HELVIUS CINNA.⁹³

Of the fourteen fragments, three refer to nature. A trace of the sympathetic conception appears in one:

te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous
et flentem paulo vidit post Hesperus idem (Cinn. 8).

Stars are *ignes aetherias* (11), a crystal is compared to snow.
atque imitata nives lucens legitur crystallus (6).

Salicta are mentioned (1).

A picture of bright sails upon the topmast is found in the *Propempticon Pollionis* (4), and another reference to navigation in

atque anquina regat stabilem fortissima cursum (5).

7. GAIUS LICINIUS CALVUS.

In the twenty-one fragments few references to nature are found. The sun is personified (Lic. Calv. 13). In the *Epithalamium*,

Vesper it ante iubar quatiens (5).

The country is *durum . . . et laboriosum* (2). If Propertius 1.20.39 is modelled on Calvus and *lilium* should be supplied before the words

vaga candido
nympha quod secet ungui (4),

Calvus is one of the few authors who mentions a flower by name.

⁹³ References are to Bachrens' *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*.

7. VERSES OF DOUBTFUL AUTHORSHIP.

The seventeen fragments assigned to this period furnish little material. One personifies the sun:

hac qua sol *vagus igneas* habenas
immittit propius volatque terrae. (Incert. 2).

The moon is personified:

Luna, deum quae sola vides periuria volgi,
seu Cretaëa magis seu tu Dictynna vocaris (7).

The constellation of the bear is described:

sed lucet in astris
Calisto renovatque suos sine fluctibus ignes (6).

8. CATULLUS.⁹⁴

In Catullus' poetry there are many references to nature, but none that reach a length of more than six lines, and only two as long as that.

The sky for itself alone is rarely mentioned. The night sky is *aetherias umbras* (LXVI. 55), the clear sky *aethera album* (LXIII. 40); Jupiter is shown as *pater divum templo in fulgente* (LXIV. 387), and the expression *in limine caeli* (LXVI. 59) is found.

Sun Days are reckoned by the rising and setting of the sun:

soles occidere et redire possunt:
nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
nox est perpetua una dormienda (V. 4);
fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles (VIII. 3, cf. VIII. 8).

and *lux* is found in CVII. 6 in the same sense as in V. 5.

The sun is represented as *ardens* (LXIV. 354); *aureus* (LXIII. 39); *candidus* (VIII. 3); *clarus* (LXVI. 44); *flammeus* (*nitor*, LXVI. 3); *radians* (LXIII. 39); *rapidus* (LXVI. 3); *vagus* (LXIV. 271). It is identified with day:

ne qua femina pulchrior
clarum ab Oceano diem
viderit venientem (LXI. 88).

⁹⁴ References are to Ellis' *Catullus*, 1878.

It is personalized:

progenies Thiae clara supervexitur (LXVI. 44);
sed ubi oris aurei Sol radiantibus oculis
lustravit aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum,
populitque noctis umbras vegetis sonipedibus (LXIII. 39).

Moon The moon is mentioned as identical with
Diana, in the ode to that goddess. She shines
with borrowed light.

tu potens trivia et notho es
dicta lumine Luna. (XXXIV. 15),

and measures off the months:

tu cursu, dea, menstruo
metiens iter annuum,
rustica agricolae bonis
tectis frugibus explēs (XXXIV. 17).

Stars The falling of the stars and change in
their relative positions, is symbolical of the
impossible:

sidera corrurent utinam, coma regia fiam,
proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion (LXVI. 93).

They are symbolic of countless multitude, like the sand,
VII. 7; LXI. 205. They are called, together with the sun
and moon, *omnia magni lumina mundi* (LXVI. 1), and their
rising and setting by day and night (LXVI. 2) and at dif-
ferent seasons of the year,

ut cedant certis sidera temporibus (LXVI. 4),

are noted. They are *micantia sidera* (LXI. 212; LXIV.
206), and of individual constellations are shown *Virgo, saevi*
. . . *Leonis lumina* (LXVI. 65), *Callisto, Lycaon, Bootes*
(*tardus*, LXVI. 67), *Aquarius* and *Orion* (LXV. 94).

They are personalized: *reddita caelesti coetu* (LXVI. 37),
and more fully:

aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,
furtivos hominum vident amores (VII. 7).

Clouds Clouds together with winds are symbolic of inconstancy:

tua dicta omnia factaque
ventos irrita ferre ac nebulas aereas sinis (XXX. 11);
haec mandata prius constanti mente tenentem
Thesea ceu pulsae ventorum flamine nubes,
aereum nivei montis liquere cacumen (LXIV. 238).

Mist symbolizes forgetfulness:

ipse autem caeca mentem caligine Theseus
consitus oblito dimisit pectore cuncta,
quae mandata prius constanti mente tenebat (LXIV. 207).

Dawn Dawn is represented in connection with the sun:

Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina Solis (LXIV. 271),
again LXIII. 39, p. 189. and with *purpurea luce* (LXIV. 275).

Night is *noctis umbras* (LXIII. 41); *caeca nocte* (LXVIII. 44); *aetherias umbras* (LXVI. 55), and is personalized, *cum tacet nox* (VII. 7); *vaga nocte* (LXI. 117).

The wind is very frequently used figuratively. For greed: *turbida rapacior procella* (XXV. 4). For
Winds fleetness together with horses and birds:

non custos si fingar ille Cretum,
non si Pegaseo ferar volatu,
non Ladas ego pinnipesve Perseus,
non Rhesi niveae citaeque bigae;
adde huc plumipedas volatilesque,
ventorumque simul require cursum,
quos iunctos, Cameri, mihi dicares (LV. 15);

for inconstancy. Theseus leaves Ariadne:

irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae (LXIV. 59).

Again Ariadne laments his promises:

quae cuncta aerei discerpunt irrita venti (LXIV. 142).

Catullus sends his poem to his friend in accordance with his request:

ne tua dicta vagis nequicquam credita ventis
effluxisse meo forte putes animo (LXV. 17),

and complains of Lesbia:

. . . mulier cupido quod dicit amaanti,
in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua (LXX. 3).

Auster, Favonus, Boreas, and the Apheliotes appear in the pun on the mortgaged villa (XXVI).

Epithets, of which those expressing mildness are the commonest, are *aereus* (LXIV. 142); *clemens* (*Zephyrus*, LXIV. 272); *fecundus* (*Favonus*, LXIV. 282); *iocundus* (*Zephyrus*, XLVI. 3); *lenis* (*aura*, LXIV. 84); *levis* (*flamen*, LXIV. 9); *niger* (*turbo*, LXVIII. 65); *saevus* (*Boreas*, XXVI. 3); *tepidus* (*Favonus*, LXIV. 282); *turbidus* (*procella*, XXV. 4); *vagus* (LXV. 17); *ventosus* (LXIV. 59); *vernus* (*aura*, LXIV. 90).

Winds are partially personalized in the use of the epithet *saevus* of *Boreas* (XXVI. 3); the verb *vesanire* (XXV. 13); in the following:

(flos)—quem mulcent aurae (LXII. 50)
. laeva sive dextera
vocaret aura (IV. 19)

(cf. LXIV. 213); and more distinctly in

sed quid ego ignaris nequicquam conquerar auris,
externata malo, quae nullis sensibus auctae
nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces (LXIV. 164).

Tears are rain, *tristique imbre madere genae* (LXVIII. 58);

Rain and Rain calls forth the flowers (LXII. 50). The

Snow adjective *niveus* is used, (LV. 18; LXIII. 8;

LXIV. 364; LXVIII. 127; *candidior nive* is found in LXXX. 2.

Seasons Youth is typified by spring:

iocundum cum aetas florida ver ageret (LXVIII. 16).

and spring is described:

iam ver egelidos refert tepores,
iam caeli furor aequinoctialis
iocundis Zephyri silesceat aureis (XLVI. 1).

Winter and summer measure time.

. nonam post denique messem
. . . nonamque . . . post hiemem (XCV. 2).

Sea

The sea is very often used in similes:

et insolenter aestues, velut minuta magno
deprensa navis in mari, vesaniente vento (XXV. 12).

A person in trouble is compared to a shipwrecked sailor:

conscriptum hoc lacrimis mittis epistolium,
naufragum ut eiectum spumantibus aequoris undis
sublevem et a mortis limine restituam (LXVIII. 2);
hic, velut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis
lenius aspirans aura secunda venit
iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata,
tale fuit nobis Mallius auxilium (LXVIII. 65).

The most elaborate simile is that where the guests departing from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis are compared to the waves of the sea, increasing as the wind freshens:

hic, qualis flatu placidum mare matutino
horrificans Zephyrus proclivas incitat undas,
Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina Solis,
quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae
procedunt, leviter resonant plangore cachinni,
post vento crescente magis magis increbescunt,
purpureaque procul nantes ab luce refulgent;
sic tum vestibuli linquentis regia tecta
at se quisque vago passim pede discedebant (LXIV. 269).

In metaphor, it is used of death:

certe ego te in medio versantem turbine leti. (LXIV. 149);

For mental trouble:

animo aestuante rusum reditum ad vada tetulit (LXIII. 47);
prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis (LXIV. 62);
qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam
fluctibus (LXIV. 97).

Catullus says of himself:

mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis (LXV. 4);
accipe, quis merse fortunae fluctibus ipse (LXVIII. 13).

The voyage of the Argo is described:

ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi,
caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis (LXIV. 6).

Catullus is especially rich in epithets for the sea of which the commonest are those representing its motion, often in storm. There are *altus* (LXIII. 1; LXVI. 68); *caeruleus* (XXXVI. 11); *caerulus* (LXIV. 7); *candens* (LXIV. 14); *canus* (LXIV. 18); *ferus* (LXIII. 40); *horridus* (LXIV. 205); *impotens* (IV. 18); *latus* (*gurgis*, LXIV. 178); *liquidus* (*unda*, LXIV. 2); *magnus* (XXV. 12); *minax* (*Adriaticus*, IV. 6); *placidus* (LXIV. 269); *proclivus* (*unda*, LXIV. 270); *rapidus* (*salum*, LXIII. 16; *Hellespontus*, LXIV. 358); *salsus* (and *sal*) (LXIV. 6; 67; 128); *spumans* (*unda*, LXIV. 155; LXVIII. 3); *tremulus* (LXIV. 128); *truculentus* (LXIII. 16; LXIV. 179); *trux* (IV. 9); *vastus* (XXXI. 3; LXIII. 48; *pelagi aestus*, LXIV. 127); *ventosus* (LXIV. 12).

The shore is *curvus* (LXIV. 74); *desertus* (LXIV. 133); *fluentisonus* (LXIV. 52); *spumosos* (LXIV. 121); *vacuus* (*alga*, LXIV. 168). The sea is also called *marmor pelagei* (LXIII. 88). The verb *volare* is used of the boat upon the sea (IV. 5). The sea is personalized by the use of such epithets as *minax*, quoted above, and, as the embodiment of cruelty:

quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena,
quod mare conceptum spumantibus expuit undis (LXIV. 154);

mythologically as *Tethys* and *Oceanus* (LXIV. 29; LXXXVIII. 5); as *Amphitrite* in LXIV. 11.

A boat is represented as a living being by the terms *volare* (IV. 5), *senere* (IV. 26), and indeed throughout the fourth poem.

Streams

One simile is found:

qualis in aerei perlucens vertice montis
rivus muscoso prosilit e lapide,
qui cum de prona praeceps est valle volutus,
per medium densi transit iter populi,
dulce viatori lasso in sudore levamen,
cum gravis exustos aestus hiulcat agros (LXVIII. 59);

such was Mallius to his friend in trouble. Metaphorically, boiling springs represent the fire of love (LXVIII. 56).

Diana is *domina* . . . *amnum sonantum* (XXXIV. 12); *rapidus* is used of water in (LXX. 4, p. 191).

Individual rivers are the Nile: *quae septemgeminus colorat aequora Nilus* (XI. 7); the Scamander:

testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri,
quae passim rapido diffunditur Hellesponto,
cuius iter caesis angustans corporum acervis
alta tepefaciet permixta flumina caede (LXIV. 357);

the fountain Aganippe:

rupis Aonios specus,
nympha quos super irrigat
frigerans Aganippe (LXI. 23);

Gallicum Rhenum (XI. 11), and *aurifer Tagus* (XXIX. 19).

In the account of the phaselus, the lake is *limpidum lacum*
Lakes (IV. 24). In the Sirmio it is *liquentibus stagnis*
(XXXI. 2), and the island and lake are addressed:

salve o venusta Sirmio atque hero gaude;
gaudete vosque o Lydiae lacus undae;
ridete quicquid est domi cachinnorum (XXXI. 12).

Mountains Mount Aetna is used in a simile for the fire of love:

cum tantum arderem quantum Trinacria rupes (LXVIII. 55).

The dreary aspect of mountains is usually presented:

ad Idae tetuli nemora pedem,
ut apud nivem et ferarum gelida stabula forem (LXIII. 52);
ego viridis algida Idae nive amicta loca colam?
ego vitam agam sub altis Phrygiae columinibus,
ubi cerva silvicultrix, ubi aper nemorivagus? (LXIII. 70).

Thrace is *horridam Thraciam* (IV. 8). Only once is a pleasanter aspect shown:

montium domina ut fores
silvarumque virentium
saltuumque reconditorum
amnumque sonantum (XXXIV. 9).

Epithets of mountains are varied: *aereus* (LXIV. 240; LXVIII. 59); *algidus* (LXIII. 70); *altus* (*Alpes*, XI. 9); *buxifer*

(*Cytorus*, IV. 13); *frondosus* (*Idalium*, LXIV. 96); *gelidus* (*stabula ferarum*, LXIII. 53); *magnus* (LXIV. 280); *niveus* (LXIV. 240); *praeruptus* (LXIV. 126); *viridis* (*Ida*, LXIII. 70).

The one figurative representation is "columns of Phrygia" (LXIII. 71).

Woods Woods generally appear in connection with mountains, as in LXIII. 12; 52.

Tempe is described:

viridantia Tempe,

Tempe, quae silvae cingunt super impendentes (LXIV. 285).

They are *altus* (LXIII. 12); *ferus* (LXIII. 89); *opacus* (LXIII. 3; 32); *virens* (XXXIV. 10).

They are personalized:

ubi iste post phasellus antea fuit
comata silva: nam Cytorio in iugo
loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma (IV. 10).

Plants are very commonly used in similes. The minotaur falls like an oak or pine on the mountain:

Nam velut in summo quatientem brachia Tauro
quercum, aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum,
indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur,
eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
prona cadit, lateque et cominus obvia frangens),
sic domito saevum prostravit corpore Theseus
nequicquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis (LXIV. 105).

The vine and tree are found:

mentem amore revinciens
ut *tenax* edera huc et huc
arborem implicat errans (LXI. 33).

Flowers are conspicuous. The young girl is:

ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber (LXII. 48).

Ariadne is reared in her home,

quales Eurotae progignunt flumina myrtus,
aurave distinctos educit verna colores (LXIV. 89).

Vinia is compared to the larkspur:

talis in vario solet
divitis domini hortulo
stare flos hyacinthinus (LXI. 91);

and to other flowers:

ore floridulo nitens
alba parthenice velut
luteumve papaver (LXI. 198).
floridis velut enitens
Myrtus Asia ramulis
quos Amadryades deae
ludicrum sibi roscido
nutriunt humore (LXI. 21);

Catullus compares himself to a flower crushed by the plough:

nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
tactus aratro est (XI. 21).

Metaphorically are found, *flos* (XVII. 14; LXIII 64; C. 2); *flosculus* (XXIV. 1); *florens* (LXIV. 251); *floridus* (LXVIII. 16); *floridulus* (LXI. 198).

From the farm come two metaphors:

non si densior aridis aristis
sit nostrae seges osculationis (XLVIII. 5);
namque velut densas praecerpens cultor aristas
sole sub ardenti *flaventia* demetit arva (LXIV. 353);

so Achilles mows down the ranks of Trojans.

Troubles are "thorny:" *spinosas curas* (LXIV. 72).

Apart from their use in figures, plants and flowers are of little interest. Cyrene is *Lasarpicifer* (VII. 4), Cyturus *buxifer* (IV. 13). There are the olive (XXXIV. 8; ash XVII. 18), myrtle (LXI. 22 ; ivy (LXI. 34). To the wedding of Peleus and Thetis Penios brings

altas
fagos ac *recto proceras stipite* laurus,
non sine *nutanti* platano *lentaque* sorore
flammati Phaethontis et *aerea* cupressu (LXIV. 288)

and Chiron

silvestria dona:

nam quodcumque ferunt campi, quos Thessala magnis
montibus ora creat, quos propter fluminis undas
aura parit flores tepidi fecunda Favoni,
hos indistinctis plexos tulit ipse corollis,
quo permulsa domus iocundo risit odore (LXIV. 279).

Attis' door is decorated *floridis corollis* (LXIII. 66), and
Hymen is bidden

cinge tempora floribus
suaue olentis amaraci (LXI. 6).

Animals Animals are of little interest. Catullus com-
pares his songs for his brother's death to those
of the nightingale:

qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris
Daulias, absumptei fata gemens Ithylei (LXV. 13).

Doves are typical of conjugal happiness:

nec tantum *nireo* gavisata est ulta columbo
compar (LXVIII. 127).

The sparrow of Lesbia (II; III) is interesting to Catullus
solely for its mistress' sake. The crow and vulture appear
as birds of prey (CVIII. 4), and beasts and birds of prey
appear again in LXIV. 152.

The spider's web is symbolic of worthlessness:

plenus sacculus est araneorum (XIII. 8).

and of oblivion:

nec tenuem texens sublimis aranea telam
in deserto Alli nomine opus faciat (LXVIII. 51).

The boar is *aper nemorivagus*; the deer *cerva silvicultrix*
(LXIII. 72). The deer is the type of swiftness:

nascetur vobis expers terroris Achilles
.
.
.
qui persaepe vago victor certamine cursus
flammea praevertet celeris vestigia cervae (LXIV. 338),

the lion of cruelty (LX. 1; LXIV. 154), and of fierceness:

ni te perdit amo; . . .
 . . .
 solus in Libia Indiaque tosta
caesio veniam obviis leoni (XLV. 3).

Ululatus is used figuratively of shouting (LXIII. 24; 28). Other animals are the goat (figuratively XVII. 15), the mule (XVII. 26), cattle, to symbolize subjugation:

veluti iuvenca vitans onus indomita iugi (LXIII. 33).

also LXVIII. 120. The attendants of Cybele are *Dindimene dominae vaga pecora* (LXIII. 13), *Remugire* is used of the "tympanum" (LXIII. 29). In connection with agriculture cattle appear in LXII. 49; LXII. 64; LXIV. 38; as victims in LXIV. 389.

The country is spoken of with contempt:

idem infaceto est infacetiore rure (XXII. 14).

"It is in comparison that Catullus' sentiment for nature is most evident" says Secretan⁹⁵ and this state-

Summary ment is abundantly supported by the foregoing quotations. It is especially true of the sea and of plants and flowers. Metaphors and symbolization from nature are also common. Epithets are relatively very numerous and very varied. Lucretius' work contains nearly five times as many verses as Catullus', but he uses less than twice as many epithets of nature, and as to variety, only about one-fourth more. Of Catullus' epithets about three-fourths are used only once, and about one-quarter of the total number are used of the same form of nature by no other poet of our period. Nature is generally described in her peaceful moods. Only of the sea are commonly presented fierce and unfriendly aspects.

That Catullus speaks often of the immensity of the sea is true, but that he speaks less often of its stormy aspects,⁹⁶

⁹⁵ *Du Sentiment de la Nature dans l'Antiquité Romaine*, p. 81.

⁹⁶ Secretan, p. 80.

a study of his epithets will disprove, though there is no long description of a storm. Even in the graceful picture of the Argo's voyage the element of danger is evidenced by the words *ausi sunt* (p. 192).

The pleasure of Catullus' own voyage in the phaselus seems concentrated in the home-coming, and the little boat is regarded with wonder as the survivor of the perils of the deep. So too in his lament at his brother's tomb, he tells of the *multa aequora* (CI. 1), over which he has passed, the underlying thought being of the long and tedious journey. And Attis, addressing his companions, expresses the same idea: "You have endured the restless brine and cruel sea" (LXIII. 16).

Yet, though these aspects of the sea are oftenest alluded to and expressed by the use of epithets, the stormless sea is not without representation.

In a word is brought before us the surf upon the coast, on the "foamy shores of Dia" (LXIV. 121), and the shore which "is beaten by the Eastern wave resounding far" (XI. 3). More elaboration of description is found in the account of Attis standing on "the wet (sands) of the foam-whitened beach," "near the bright level of the sea" (LXIII. 87), and still more elaborate is the picture, or succession of pictures, of the sea in the famous simile in the *Peleus and Thetis* (p. 192).

More than any other poet of the republican period, Catullus represented the sympathetic relation between man and nature. Continually throughout the *Attis* and the *Peleus and Thetis*, particularly the latter, the mood of the suffering human being, and thereby its influence upon the reader, is intensified by the character of the natural surroundings. The sea-shore and the sea enhance the loneliness of the scenes in the laments of Ariadne and of Attis. The latter turns toward his lost home and longs for it "looking upon the lonely sea with tearful eyes" (LXIII. 48). So too Ariadne, deserted by Theseus, climbs to the hilltop and

thence "gazes upon the lonely waves of the sea" (LXIV. 127) and feels herself hopelessly abandoned, hemmed in by the waters (LXIV. 134), where "no mortal appears upon the empty seaweed" (LXIV. 168), and she stands by the lonely sea, and while its waves sweep up the beach, within her own heart great waves of sorrow roll (LXIV. 62). Catullus calls upon the waters of his lake to rejoice with him upon his return to Sirmio (XXXI. 13); and the stars are called on as witnesses of and perhaps sympathisers with the loves of men (VII. 7). The obverse of this feeling is brought out where Catullus contrasts the coming and going of the bright days (*soles*) with their short intermission of night, and his own brief season of happiness, to be followed by perpetual night (V. 4).

It is in the *Peleus and Thetis* that the largest proportion of the descriptions of nature is found, and that the traces of sympathetic conception of nature are most evident. And these seem to partake of the artificiality of the other portions of the poem. They lack the spontaneity that characterizes all phases of Catullus' shorter poems, and all references to nature in Lucretius, and though we have not Catullus' Alexandrian models, we may surmise that to them must partly be laid the use of nature characteristic of this poem. Had this attitude toward nature been purely natural to the Roman poet, he would surely have shown more of it in the briefer poems in which his own feelings are so strongly and freely expressed. But his interests were in man rather than nature, and it seems to be only under outside influence that he cares to use nature in any way to deepen and enhance the expression of feelings.

10. PUBLIUS TERENTIUS VARRO ATACINUS.⁹⁷

Of the twenty-four fragments of Varro Atacinus, about half treat of nature. The most extensive references are **Sky** to the heavens and the heavenly bodies. They are to be found in the *Chorographia*, and are purely geographical or astronomical in their nature, the relative positions of earth, stars, and sea being discussed (Varr. At. Chor. I. II. III). In the *Argonautica* is one mythological allusion to the sun,

cum te flagranti delectum fulmine, Phaethon (*Arg.* IV. I),

and another to its heat:

quas solis valido nunquam vis atterat igne (*Chor. Pro.* III. IV), and in the *Ephemeris*, clouds are compared to masses of wool: *Nubes (ut) vellera lanæ stabant* (*Eph.* I.).

There is one picture of the quiet and peace of night:

desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant
omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete (*Arg.* III. I).⁹⁸

A ship is compared to a chariot:

Tiphyn (at) aurigam celeris fecere carinae (*Arg.* I. III).

The connection of the following line,

deinde ubi pellicuit dulcis levis unda saporis (*Bell. Seq.* II.),

is doubtful.

Plants There is a scientific account of a certain reed of India in the *Chorographia* (*Asia*) and a picture of the trees in autumn:

frigidus et silvis aquilo decussit honorem (*Arg.* II. III).

Animals The fragments of the *Ephemeris*, a translation of Aratus, are all concerned with nature. Besides the one already quoted, are two references to animals:

⁹⁷ References are to Riese's "*Varronis Saturarum Reliquiae*" 1865.

⁹⁸ Of winds is found only *frigidus aquilo* (*Arg.* II. III); of rivers only the *Nile* (*Chorag. Africa*).

tum liceat pelagi volucres tardaeque paludis
cernere inexploto studio certare lavandi
et velut insolitum pennis infundere rorem.
aut *arguta* lacus circumvolitavit hirundo (*Eph.* II.);
et bos suspiciens caelum (mirabile visu)
naribus aërium patulis decerpsit odorem
nec *tenuis* formica cavis non evehit ova (*Eph.* III.).⁹⁹

Summary The treatment of nature is on the whole uninteresting. Most of the references are found in works which deal with phases of nature scientifically, and they do not rise above this character, except perhaps in the description of the silence of night, and in that of the birds, which is a translation from Aratus.

⁹⁹ Cf. Serv. in Verg. Georg. I. 375.

CHAPTER III.

THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD AS A WHOLE.

Of all the forms of nature represented in the poetry of this period, the sea is most interesting. Many aspects are **Sea** shown, but the open sea is more conspicuous than the shore, the stormy sea than the calm. Ships are very often mentioned, but the only poet who seems to feel real pleasure and exhilaration in the free movement of the boat over the water is Ennius.

Of epithets applied to the sea those expressing the most obvious characteristics, saltiness, *salsus*, and magnitude, *altus*, and *magnus*, are first in number. Next come those expressing color, of which the commonest is *caerulus*.

Figuratively the sea usually represents misfortune. Many figures are drawn from shipwreck, and human cares and trouble are often represented as waves. The sea is very commonly invested with life, and in these cases is almost always shown as the cruel enemy of man. From Livius' "Nothing worse tortures man than the savage sea" to Catullus' "threatening Adriatic," this aspect is prominent in almost every author, and the feeling toward the sea most often to be inferred is a sense of this power and cruelty, a feeling of dread and at the same time of the fascination which may accompany such dread.

Next to the sea in interest is the sky with its sun and stars. Epithets most commonly used of it are *altus*, *magnus*, **Sky** *caerulus* and *caeruleus*. Its apparent shape, too, is often shown. In the tragedies it is often identified with Jupiter, often addressed as if so identified. Awe and wonder seem to be the feelings most clearly shown in connec-

tion with it. These are voiced most plainly by Lucretius. "Look up into the clear bright color of the sky and what it holds within itself, the constellations straying here and there, the moon and the brightness of the sun with its brilliant light: if all these unexpectedly and suddenly were now presented to mortals, what more marvellous than these could be told of?"

Sun The characteristics most noticeable are, naturally, its heat and light. The epithets most used of it express the latter, *candidus* being most common, *aureus*, *radiatus*, *flammeus* next.

Though seldom used in figures to illustrate other things, it is itself very often figuratively represented. It is frequently described by Lucretius as a fountain from which flow light and heat, but more often than in any other way it is depicted with the qualities of life and personality. This personalizing is often of the mythological type (almost always so in the tragedies), the sun being represented as *Phoebus*, *Hyperion*, etc. Even where this is not the case mythological personalization is implied in the method of representation, as "thou sun who dost lift aloft in the sky thy glowing torch" (Enn.), and "the sun with the glowing eyes of his golden face had scanned the bright air . . . and put to flight the shades of night with his swift steeds of the ringing hoofs." (Cat.).

Moon The moon is seldom spoken of at all, and never with any fullness of description. She is usually represented in eclipse, or mythologically as Diana, Phoebe, etc; and in "thou moon who alone of the gods dost look upon the perjuries of man" (Incert. Baehrens).

The only epithets used are *clarus* (Cic.; Luc.); *candens*, (Varr.), *almus* (Laevius), *alba leni lactea luce* (Enn.). No feeling for the beauty of the moon or her light is anywhere shown unless in the last of these, though Lucretius mentions

her among the phenomena of the sky which call forth men's admiration. Stars are most interesting as they are described in the constellations (especially in Cicero's *Phaenomena*), and in the description of night personified, in the tragedies, "Night moves on decked with glittering stars" (Enn.), or of the night sky, "when the air far and wide painted with glowing fires was showing forth the starry host" (Varr.). The epithet most frequently used by Cicero is *clarus*, by all writers in general *fervidus*, *fulgens*, *micans*, *splendidus*. They are often invested with life, when their movement in the heavens is described.

Stars Clouds are important only in Lucretius who shows a deep interest in them from a scientific and probably from an aesthetic point of view as well. Elsewhere they are described as the source of storm and rain (Enn.; Varr.). They are compared to masses of hanging wool by Lucretius and Varro Atacinus.

Clouds Dawn is shown sometimes in its aspect in the sky, as "now do I see dawn reddening in the sky" (Acc.), but more commonly on the earth, as "the earth was exhaling mist to the damp dawn" (Pac.). It is definitely personified only in Incert. Trag.; Varro; Catullus. Epithets are few, *unius* taking first place. *Roseus* is found in Lucretius.

Dawn Night is interesting only in the tragedies, where it is almost always very definitely personified as "dark-haired Night, daughter of Erebus" (Incert. Trag.). Usually night is a time of misfortune. Very seldom its calm and peace seem to appeal to the writer, as in Ennius, "dead and in ashes they lay in the calm night."

Night Winds often symbolize fickleness. Their fierce aspect is commonly presented, and like the sea, they are usually the enemy of man. Catullus is the only poet who more often represents their friendly as-

Wind

pects. The commonest epithets are *validus*, *saevus*, *violens*. By these epithets they are often personalized, and sometimes in more full descriptions, as "the wind began to puff out its cheeks and apply the spurs" (Varr.), "now they take breath, and grow in force, and as it were, rallying, advance, and, beaten, retreat" (Luc.).

The seasons are very meagerly represented.

Seasons

Spring is the only one in which pleasure seems to be expressed, though Lucretius speaks of the *variae lepores* which return with the changing seasons.

Streams

Streams are used in similes with comparative frequency. Gushing springs and full-flowing rivers are most commonly depicted, as "on the summit of a high mountain a bright stream leaps from the mossy stone and . . . rolls headlong down the sloping valley" (Cat.) and "rivers flowing level with their banks" (Luc.). The commonest epithet is *rapidus*. They are seldom personalized. When they are, the mythological idea of a river god is apt to be prominent, as in *sanctus Tiber* (Enn.).

Mountains

Mountains are almost always shown as rough, dreary and cold, the home of wild beasts. Even Ida, to which the epithet *viridis* is applied more often than to other mountains, is shown under the same aspect; "have I come to the woods of Ida to live amid the snow and the cold lairs of wild beasts?" (Cat.). Few epithets show any but the most obvious characteristics. The most usual being *altus* and *magnus*.

Lucretius is the only exception to these statements.¹ In him is seen, if not the modern passion for the mountains, at least an awakening sense of their peaceful calm and picturesqueness.

¹ Fairclough, *The attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*, finds many traces of the modern feeling in the Greek tragedians.

Woods Woods are represented in much the same way as mountains, indeed they are usually mentioned together. A different aspect is shown only in a few passages where they are called "the home of singing birds" (Luc.), and sometimes in the representation of individual trees, as in the wood cutter's scene in Ennius. In the last, and in the expression *comata silva* (Cat.), there is some degree of personalization.

Plants Individual trees are most interesting in Ennius, other plants in Catullus. Catullus indeed, is the only poet who represents flowers further than by mere incidental mention. No other poet, with the exception of Lucretius and possibly Calvus, mentions them at all. No plants are described with any detail. The description of pines in Ennius, *nutantibu capitibus . . . procerae*, and Catullus, *corniger . . . sudanti cortice*, are as interesting as any.

Animals Animal life is fully represented by almost every poet. Of wild animals, the lion and the deer are most conspicuous. The latter is more picturesquely described as *bisulcis unguis, silvaticus, volabilis* (Varr.), *alipes* and *corniger* (Luc.); *silvicultrix* and *celer* (Cat.). Domestic animals are more conspicuous than wild, and among them the horse is every where most important and described with most variety.

Omissions The common forms and aspects of nature least well represented, as shown above, are the calm sea, the moon, clouds and rainbow, mountains, woods and flowers. Though dawn and early morning are often described, a sunset sky is never spoken of. In general there is great lack of detail and the phenomena described are the most obvious only.

Figures Figures taken from nature are, on the whole, not of very great interest. Similes are found less frequently than metaphorical expressions, and are usually drawn

from plants and animals. The longest and most elaborate simile is taken from the sea, and is found in Catullus.

Figures drawn from nature very commonly illustrate human life, especially the abstract. The fire of love is likened to a volcano in eruption (Cat.). Anger is like a rushing stream (Naev.). Sadness is a mist (Pac.). Ignorance is darkness (Luc.). Trouble of various sorts is likened to shipwreck (Incert. Trag.; Cat.); to darkness, (Luc.); to a steep path (Luc.); to waves (Cat.; Luc.); to briers (Lucil.; Cat.). A person in trouble is like a crushed flower (Cat.); help in trouble is a favoring wind to the shipwrecked sailor (Cat.); a stream to the thirsty traveller (Cat.). Glory is evanescent like melting ice (Liv.); virtue grows green like a plant (Ant.); fickleness is likened to the wind (Luc.; Cat.); to a moving cloud (Cat.).

Analogies between nature and the concrete in human life are less often noted. Flying spears are likened to rain (Enn.); to hail and snow (Pac.). Battle is like meeting winds (Enn.), and Lucretius speaks of "waves of war." A ship moving over the water is a water-spider (Varr.); a bird (Ant.; Enn.; Laev.). Crowds of men in flight are like a rushing stream (Varr.); increasing crowds like a roughening sea (Cat.). The young girl is like a flower (Cat.). Analogies between the actions of men and animals are among those most commonly noted.

Analogies between different forms and phenomena of nature are less frequently noted than those between nature and man. The sea is a meadow (Acc.; Enn.; Luc.). Mist and the sky (Enn.; Luc.) are likened to the sea; thunder to the sound of waves (Luc.); the sun is a fountain (Luc.).

Least common of all figures where nature is concerned are those in which nature is illustrated from human life. A mountain is a wart (Incert. Trag.); mountains are columns (Acc.; Cat.). The stars in the sky are "spoils" (Varr.); leaves on trees are likened to hair (Cat.); and forests on mountainsides to the same (Luc.).

But the various forms of nature are very com-
 Personaliza- monly invested with the characteristics of life.
 tion

In addition to what is implied in many epithets used, such expressions are found as *ululare* of the sea, (Enn.); *lutratus* of the sea (Acc.); *radere* of a stream (Acc.; Luc.); *pascere* of the stars in the ether (Luc.). Very often nature is given attributes not only of life, but of human life. It may be merely the physical appearance or activities of human beings to which a likeness is seen, as in such expressions as *cacchinare* of echo (Acc.); of waves (Cat.); *tacere* of night (Cat.); *boere* of echoing hills (Pac.); the waging of war by the winds (Luc.); *fremitus* of woods (Enn.). Or emotions like those of human beings are attributed to nature, as by such epithets as *avidus* of mountains (Luc.), the verb *vesanire* (Cat.) of wind, and especially by the language of many descriptions of the sea.

This personalization of nature may be either of a mythological character, as when the dawn is represented as Aurora² (Cat.); the sky as identical with Jupiter (Enn.); the sea as Neptune (Enn.); the moon as Phoebe (Incert.),³ and Diana (Cat.); the Tiber (Enn.) and Scamander (Acc.) as *sanctus*. The most frequent and interesting cases of this sort of personalization are in the case of the sun and of night in the tragedies, where they are very commonly shown as traversing the sky in chariots aglow with fire and decked with stars, respectively, and where the sun and the sky are often called upon as if cognizant of and interested in the affairs of men.

The last type of the personalization of nature to be noticed is that where nature is not only endowed with the power of action like that of man and with emotions belonging to humanity, but is shown as in intimate, sympathetic, and often reciprocal relations with man, not as god or goddess, but in her own form through the inner spirit in-

² The mere use of the term *aurora* of course does not always imply that personalization was felt.

³ Bachrens.

fused into her by the human spirit. This attitude toward nature is very rarely shown at all, never fully developed. In the setting of a scene a trace of it is perhaps found once in Ennius (see p. 101), once perhaps in Accius (p. 114), several times in Catullus, in the *Peleus and Thetis* and the *Attis*. (p. 200).

A few general conclusions as to the use of
Epithets epithets for nature will be of interest. Epithets for plants and animals are not included except in special cases.

Different authors show considerable differences in the epithets used of the several forms of nature. *Altus*⁴ of the sea seems to be the most general, *salsus*⁵ and *magnus*⁶, of the sea, next. Others used by three or more authors are *altus*,⁷ of the sky; *serenus*,⁸ of the sky; *ardens*,⁹ *aureus*,¹⁰ *candidus*,¹¹ *clarus*,¹² of the sun or its light; *fervidus*,¹³ *fulgens*,¹⁴ *micans*,¹⁵ *splendidus*,¹⁶ of the stars; *saevus*¹⁷ of wind; *altus*,¹⁸ *arduus*,¹⁹ *asper*,²⁰ *celsus*,²¹ of mountain regions; *caeruleus*²² or *caeruleus*, *canus*,²³ of the sea-foam.

⁴ Liv.; Enn.; Pac.; Acc.; Incert. Trag.; Laev.; Cic.; Luc.; Cat.

⁵ Enn.; Acc.; Lucil.; Porc. Lic.; Luc.; Cat.

⁶ Liv.; Enn.; Lucil.; Carm. Marc.; Luc.; Cat.

⁷ Acc.; Varr.; Luc.

⁸ Enn.; Porc. Lic.; Luc.

⁹ Acc.; Luc.; Cat.

¹⁰ Enn.; Luc.; Cat.

¹¹ Enn.; Acc.; Incert. Trag.; Luc.; Cat.

¹² Cic.; Luc.; Cat.

¹³ Cic.; Varr.; Luc.

¹⁴ Enn.; Cic.; Luc.

¹⁵ Cic.; Luc.; Cat.

¹⁶ Enn.; Acc.; Luc.

¹⁷ Pac.; Lucil.; Val. Aed.; Luc.; Cat.

¹⁸ Liv.; Naev.; Luc.; Cat.

¹⁹ Enn.; Pac.; Luc.

²⁰ Enn.; Pac.; Lucil.; Cic.

²¹ Liv.; Acc.; Cic.

²² Enn.; Cic.; Varr.; Luc.; Cat.

²³ Enn.; Cic.; Luc.; Cat.

Many epithets are used of certain forms of nature by one author only. Important among these are, of the sky, *albus* (Cat.); *altisonus* (Enn.); *aureus* (Varr.); *candens* (Enn.); *cavus* (Enn.); *clarus* (Luc.); *convexus* (Cic.); *inmoderatus* (Cic.); *lucidus* (Luc.); *profundus* (Enn.); *purus* (Luc.); *signifer* (Luc.); *sublimis* (Luc.); of the sun and its light *albus* (Enn.); *igneus* (Incert.); *luctus* (Cic.); *liquatus* (Cic.); *micans* (Acc.); *nitidus* (Cic.); *obstipus* (Enn.); *praeclarus* (Luc.); *radians* (Cat.); *rapidus* (Cat.); *roseus* (Luc.); *splendidus* (Luc.); of stars, *candidus* (Luc.); *conlucens* (Cic.); *fervens* (Cic.); *inlustris* (Cic.); *lucens* (Cic.); *serenus* (Luc.); *severus* (Luc.); *splendens* (Cic.); *volucer* (Cic.); of the moon, *albus* (Enn.); *almus* (Laev.); *clarus* (Cic.); *candens* (Varr.); *luteus* (Enn.); *lenis* (Enn.); *roscidus* (Egnat.); of clouds: *aereus* (Cat.); *aetherius* (Luc.); *aqualus* (Varr.); *caeruleus* (Cic.); *flammeus* (Luc.); *fervus* (Luc.); *niger* (Luc.); *opacus* (Cic.); *splendidus* (Luc.); *unidus* (Enn.); *volans* (Luc.); of wind: *aereus* (Cat.); *altitonans* (Vulturnus, Luc.); *ferus* (Luc.); *furens* (Enn.); *horribilis* (Cic.); *imbricator* (Enn.); *ingens* (Enn.); *magnus* (Luc.); *phreneticus* (north wind, Varr.); *rapidus* (Luc.); *silvifragus* (Luc.); *vehemens* (Cic.); *ventosus* (Cat.); *violens* (Luc.); *volans* (Luc.); of the sea: *albus* (Varr.); *acerbus* (Luc.); *aquilus* (Varr.); *asper* (waves, Enn.); *avidus* (Luc.); *ferus* (Cat.); *flavus* (Enn.); *glaucus* (Luc.); *horridus* (Cat.); *horrisonus* (Cic.); *immanis* (Luc.); *immensus* (Luc.); *impotens* (Cat.); *infidus* (Luc.); *immisericors* (waves, Acc.); *importunus* (waves, Liv.); *inflatus* (Cic.); *minax* (Cat.); *mollis* (waves, Luc.); *naviger* (Luc.); *proclivus* (waves, Cat.); *ridens* (Luc.); *sonorus* (Luc.); *subdolus* (Luc.); *ventosus* (Cat.); *viridis* (Ant.); of streams; *amoenus* (Luc.); *candidus* (Enn.); *celer* (Naev.); *largus* (Luc.); *lubricus* (Luc.); *radens* (Luc.); *rapax* (Luc.); *validus* (Luc.); of mountains and mountain regions: *aereus* (Cat.); *avidus* (Luc.); *burifer* (Cyturus, Cat.) *cavus* (Luc.); *confragus* (Naev.); *lauricomus* (Luc.); *obstipus* (Enn.); *opacus*, (of doubtful meaning, Luc.); *praeruptus* (Pac.); *scruposus* (Pac.).

Most epithets are used of one form of nature only. Used of more than one form are:²⁴ *aereus* of clouds (Cat.); of the mountains (Cat.); *aetherius*, used of the sun (Luc.); of clouds (Cat.); *altus* of the sky (p. 210); of clouds (Luc.); of the sea (p. 210); of trees (Enn.; Varr.); *asper* of waves (Enn.); of mountains (p. 210); *candens* of the sky (Enn.); of the sun (Enn.; Luc.); of sea-foam (Luc.; Cat.); of the moon (Varr.); *candidus* of the sun (p. 210); of stars (Luc.); of rivers (Enn.); *clarus* of the sun (p. 210); of stars (Cic.; Luc.); of a stream (Luc.); of woods (Cic.); *ferus* of winds (Cic.; Luc.); of the sea (Cat.); of woods (Cat.); *flammeus* of the sun's heat (Pac.); of its brightness (Acc.; Cat.); *fulgens* of the sky (Luc.; Cat.); of stars (p. 210); *horridus* of the sea (Cat.); of mountains (Pac.); *ingens* of the sky (Enn.; Luc.); of constellations (Enn.); *liquidus* of the sky (Enn.); of the sea (p. 210); of streams (Naev.); of bird-notes (Luc.); *lucidus* of the sky (Luc.); of stars (Luc.); *magnus* of the sky (Enn.); of constellations (Cic.); of winds (Luc.); of the sea (p. 210); of rivers (p. 210); of oak trees (Enn.); *obstipus* of light (Enn.) of mountains (Enn.); *opacus* of clouds (Cic.); of mountains (Luc.); of woods (Cat.); *praeclarus* of the sun (Luc.); of stars (Cic.; Q. Cic.); *rapidus* of the sun (Cat.); of the wind (Luc.; Cat.); of streams (Acc.; Luc.); *saevus* of the wind (p. 210); of the sea (p. 210); *serenus* of the sky and light (p. 210); of night (Enn.; Luc.); of the motion of sky and sea (Porc. Lic.); *splendidus* of the sun (Luc.); of clouds (Luc.); *tremulus* of light (Enn.); of a comet (Cic.); of the sea (Cat.); *unidus* of clouds (Enn.); of dawn (Pac.; Cic.); *vagus* of storm (Luc.); of the sun (Cat.); of wind (Cat.); *validus* of the sun (Varr. A.); of wind (Luc.); of streams (Luc.); *vastus* of the sky (Enn.); of the sea (Cic.; Cat.); *ventosus* of the wind (Cat.); of the sea (Cat.).

Epithets denoting form are very rare. They are: *anfractus* of the seashore (Acc. Luc.); of a stream (Varr.);

²⁴ For color terms see p. 213.

Form *curvus* of the sky (Enn.), of mountains (Luc.); *convexus* of the sky (Cic.); *curvus* of the seashore (Acc.; Cic.); *incurvus* of the seashore (Luc.).

Epithets of color, in so far as number and variety are concerned, are common, but the scope of each is wide and

Color the meaning apt to be indefinite. Often, too, a general word expressing brightness is used where a color-term would be expected. Of all color-terms *albus* has the widest scope. It is used of the sky (Cat.); of the sun (Enn.); of the moon (Enn.); of the grape-leaf (Lucil.); of hail (Varr.); of a calm sea (Varr.); of sea-foam (Luc.); of the flower parthenice (Cat.); the hedgehog (Varr.); while *albicare* is used of the foamy sea beach (Cat.); of the foaming stream (Varr.); *albiscere* of the moon (Cn. Mat.); *subdealbare* of frost (Varr.). *Candidus* is used of the sun (p. 210); of stars (Luc.); of rivers (Enn.); of the neck of the goose (Lucil.); *candor* is used of the sky at dawn (Pac.); of the stars (Cic.); *canus* of snow (Luc.); of the foamy sea (p. 210); *candere* of the sky and light (Enn.); of the sea in foam (Luc. Cat.); *incandere* of foaming water (Cat.); *niveus* is used of the sea (Cic.); of the dove (Cat.); *Lacteus* of moonlight (Enn.); *caeruleus* and *caerulus* are used of the sky (p. 210); of the sea (p. 210); of cloud (Cic.); of fields (Enn.); of olive trees (Luc.); of the snake (Enn.); of the whale (Cic.).

Viridis, *viridans*, etc., are used of fields and plants generally, of the sea only once (Ant.); *glaucus* is used of the sea (Luc.); grape-leaf (Varr.). *Purpureus* is used of the morning light (Cat.); of the grape (Lucil.); of snakes (Acc.); *purpurare* of the sea roughened by wind (Ant.). *Roseus* is used of the sun's light (Luc.); of dawn (Luc.). *Ruber* is used of the glow of lightning on the sea (Enn.); *rubor* of the eyes of the wild boar (Acc.); *rutilus* of stars (Cic.); of the lion's mane (Cat.); *rutilare* of the dawn (Acc.); *ostrinus* of dawn (Varr.), *puniceus* of the arbutus

(Luc.). *Aureus* is used of the sky (Varr.); of the sun (Enn.; Cat.); *flammeus* of cloud (Luc.); of a boar's eyes (Acc.), *luteus* of the poppy (Cat.); *flavens* of a harvest-field (Cat.); *flavus* of sea-foam (Enn.); *fulvus* of dust (Enn.); of the lion (Luc.); *furvus* of cloud (Luc.); *fuscus* of night (Incert. Trag.); of the crow (Cic.). *Niger* is used of a storm (Cat.); of night (Varr.); *nigror* of night (Pac.; Luc.); of a cloud (Pac.); *nigrere* of the darkening of the sky with cloud (Acc.); with night (Pac.); *ater* is used of mist (Ant.); of cloud, figuratively, (Luc.).

Changing color and combination of colors is rarely noted. The blue sea turning white with foam, (Enn.; Cat.; Luc.), is commonest. The sky darkening with cloud (Pac.; Acc.); the sea with wind (Ant.); the rainbow in the dark clouds (Luc.); gray olive-trees among the darker green (Luc.); the changing plumage of the dove and peacock are the most elaborate examples. The verb *pingere* or its compounds is used of the skins of beasts (Acc.); stars in the sky (Varr.); shells on a beach (Luc.).

Except in reference to the sounds made by animals, sound in nature is less often and less fully represented than color, either by epithet or in other ways. Leaving out of account the many references to thunder, the sound most often represented is that of the sea upon the beach or stirred by moving boats. The sound of wind is next in importance. There is one reference to the sound of rushing streams (Cat.); and of rain (Enn.); very few to the song of birds (Sueius; Varr.; Luc.), and bleating flocks (Incert.); more to echo and to the beating of horses' hoofs. *Sonipes* is used of the horse by Accius, Lucilius and a fragment of tragedy of doubtful authorship. In the case of words expressing sound much indefiniteness is found. *Murmur* is used of thunder (Luc.), of wind (Luc.), and of the sea (Pac.; Cic.); *fremitus* of thunder (Luc.), rain (Enn.), of boats upon the

sea (Acc.), of falling trees (Enn.), of the voice of the lion (Luc.); *fremere* of boats on the sea (Enn.).

Odor Odors in nature are described by Lucretius in some scientific explanations. Elsewhere they are referred to with interest only in a very general way, once by Lucretius in the description of the seasons (p. 155), and once by Catullus, in speaking of wreaths of flowers. (p. 197).

Limitations That there are decided limitations in the forms and activities of nature represented, and also in the representation of form, color, sound and scent in nature, in the poetry of this period has been shown in the above. Other limitations and omissions are also noticeable. Very few localities are mentioned by name and what are found are usually Greek. No mountain, stream, island or lake in Italy is celebrated with the exception of Catullus' Sirmio. Different forms of nature are rarely combined into a picturesque whole. If they are mentioned together it is in a succession of single pictures or actions, not grouped as one.

Mythological representation of nature is comparatively rare (see p. 209), while the sympathetic or sentimental conception of nature finds still less representation (see p. 209). Both Euripides²⁵ and the Alexandrian poets²⁶ show a comparatively full development of this modern feeling toward nature. What traces there are of such feeling in Roman poetry are seen most clearly in the poets who most depended upon these Greek writers, Ennius and Catullus.

It seems clear then that this sort of feeling was foreign to the Roman character at this time, and that since Roman literature was in its beginnings artificial, and had even at its beginning all Greek literature of the best period to de-

²⁵ See Fairclough: *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*.

²⁶ See Biese: *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen*.

pend on, no increase of such feeling is to be expected until changes in the national life shall allow or encourage it to develop, in other words, that, within this well-defined period, there will be found uniformity. With the advent of imperial government, with the new fashions and ideas that grew up with it, with the growing tendency to introspection that reveals itself in the imperial literature, a natural and inevitable change in the feeling for nature may be looked for also; and then, if ever, will take root that subjective view which Euripides and the Alexandrians especially well represent in the Greek.

This sort of feeling, combining in itself the elements of many other kinds of appreciation, gives rise to the keenest and highest pleasure that can be felt in nature. But that the Roman poets show little of it in this period does not imply that to them nature was without charm of any sort.

With characteristic reserve indeed, they rarely express in words any sort of feeling of appreciation for the beauty, the grandeur, the wonder or the subtle charm of nature. The only expressions definitely denoting beauty or agreeableness are *laetus* and similar words of plants and fields (Enn.; Luc.); *suavis* of flowers (Luc.); *egregius* of colors and scents (Luc.); *iocundus* of odors of flowers (Cat.); *dulcis* of a field and of trees (Luc.); *blandus* of spring (Varr.); *amoenus* of willow-glades (Enn.); a stream and Mt. Helicon (Luc.),²⁷ *vario lepore* of the changing seasons (Luc.), *honorem silvae* of leaves (Varr. A.), *voluptas* of the sun (Gn. Mat.). It is only indirectly through other sorts of epithets, through the use of figures, through the many incidental allusions to nature where not demanded by the subject, through the vividness of some of the brief descriptions, that the degree and the type of appreciation natural to the Roman is to be seen. It ought

²⁷ Of a city. R. Pac. 124.

perhaps to be characterized rather as an appreciative interest in nature than a real love for her. The relation of nature to man's interest, the utilitarian view, is conspicuous, the relation of the sea to shipping, of the land to harvests, of mountains to comfort and discomfort.

Nature in action rather than at rest is shown not only by Lucretius, but by the other poets of the period as well. There are seldom seen languid moods, dull colors or half-lights. Everything is set forth in the bright light of the sun and in full vigor of action. The glowing sky, the brilliant sun traversing the heavens or pouring light upon the earth, the surging sea and rivers, the growing plant, are found in abundance. The same tendency, too, is seen in the frequency with which animal life is represented, and in the great frequency with which many forms of nature are personalized, or at least invested with the characteristics of life. In this attitude of mind, this conception of the vital force of nature, the Roman poet of this period was near one phase of modern nature-sentiment; the highest and most spiritual type of modern feeling he did not attain.

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THE GREAT MOTHER OF THE GODS.

Statue discovered at Formiæ, now at Copenhagen. (After Lanciani.)

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THE GREAT MOTHER OF THE GODS

BY

GRANT SHOWERMAN, M. A.

Instructor in Latin.

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THE GREAT MOTHER OF THE GODS.

I.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CULT OF THE GREAT MOTHER AT ROME.

The introduction of the Sibylline Books during the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus¹ is significant in the history of Rome as marking the point at which the native religion began to be arrested in its natural development and to be transformed under the influence of the religions of the East. It is true that the presence of the Greeks in Italy and the West, through a trade which was considerable, had had its effects on the Roman commonwealth even before this. The Servian constitution bears the marks of the Greek system;² the system of weights and measures of the Romans had been brought into relation with that of the Sicilian Greeks³; the Greek alphabet had been communicated through intercourse with Cumae⁴; the statue of the Aventine Diana of the Latin confederation had been formed after the image of the Artemis of Ephesus at Massilia⁵. But the intercourse between the Romans and the Italian and Sicilian Greeks was purely commercial, and though

¹ Dionys. Hal. IV 62; Aul. Gell. I 19. Tarquinius Priscus is sometimes given: Varro in Lact. I 6, 10; Lyd. *De Mens.* IV 34.

² Mommsen *Hist. of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson, I 123.

³ *Ibid.* 266.

⁴ *Ibid.* and Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III 33.

⁵ Strabo IV 180.

its effects are not difficult to see in the less conservative departments of Roman life, in all that pertained to the inner and deeper life of the commonwealth Greek influence was still operating from a distance. Pliny refers the making of the first statue of the gods to the time of Tarquinius Priscus, and Varro says that none existed up to the time of Servius Tullius.⁶ So far was the Roman worshiper from investing divinity with human form and human attributes, as the Greek did, that for nearly two centuries the symbolism of a flint for Jupiter,⁷ or a lance for Mars,⁸ or a fire for Vesta⁹ was the highest flight his imagination took, while the host of other deities—and they were as numerous as the acts and duties of the worshiper's life—remained entirely abstract and formless. The acquisition of the Sibylline Books, then, occurred at a time when Rome had practically no acquaintance with the religions of the East; and the event may be regarded as the first pronounced step in the process which finally resulted in the denationalization of the old-Roman religion and the enthronement of a *turba deorum* whose worship was not in harmony with the genius of the early Romans, and which came to be in harmony with the genius of the later Romans only by reason of the change which that genius gradually underwent. The introduction of the Books is to be regarded primarily as a manifestation in the development of a new religious system; as a cause it is to be regarded only in so far as it facilitated that development in a peculiar manner.

The Books came to Rome from Cumae, and to Cumae they had come from Erythrae, whither they had been brought from Gergis, near Mt. Ida.¹⁰ The fact of their having come from the neighborhood of Mt. Ida is not unimpor-

⁶ *N. H.* XXXV 157; Varro in Aug. *De iv. Dei* IV 31 .

⁷ Serv. *Ad Aen.* VIII 641.

⁸ Plut. *Rom.* 29.

⁹ *Ibid.* *Cam.* 20.

¹⁰ Marq. III 353.

tant; for, consulted as they were "when insurrection had arisen, or some great calamity in war had befallen the city, or great marvels and visions hard to understand had occurred,"¹¹ it often happened that the remedy they prescribed was the introduction of a new cult; and the Books were uniformly partial to those cults which were well known on or near Mt. Ida, their old home.

First among foreign divinities to be introduced through the Sibylline Books was Apollo, who, though the first temple to him was not dedicated until 431 B. C., became known simultaneously with the introduction of the Books.¹² The institution of the *ludi Apollinares* in 212 B. C. was also due to the same influence. Mercury, to whom a temple was dedicated in 495 B. C., followed. In 493 a temple was dedicated to Ceres in connection with Dionysus and Kora, who were identified with the Liber and Libera of the *indigitamenta*, and the *ludi Cereris* were instituted. Proserpina also, not known in the *indigitamenta* as having any connection with the lower world, became identified with Persophone. In the *lectisternium* of 399 B. C., the first in the history of Rome, and ordered by the Books, the participants were Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune, showing that Latona had been introduced, that Greek Poseidon was worshiped as Neptune, and that Diana and Hercules were identified with Artemis and Heracles. *Dispater*, to whom and Proserpina the altar in the Terentos was consecrated, is another divinity introduced through the Books, which also caused the *ludi sacculares* to be instituted. In 293 B. C., in consequence of a plague raging among the people, the Books were again consulted, and gave direction to call to Rome the god Aesculapius, and that divinity was established two years later in a temple on the island in the Tiber. He had been worshiped at

¹¹ Dionys. IV 62.

¹² For divinities introduced by the Sibylline Books see Marq. III 358 sqq.

Rome before this, but outside the *pomerium*,¹³ where foreign cults were regularly assigned places unless there was special reason for making them completely national. The *Floralia*, whose character was entirely out of accord with the genius of the old Roman religion, were instituted in obedience to the Books in 238 B. C., and mark the metamorphosis of the native Flora. Juventas, the Greek Hebe, had a *lectisternium* in 218 by direction of the same authority; and Aphrodite appeared first in Roman affairs in 217, when, by recommendation of the Books, a temple was vowed to Venus Erycina. In the *lectisternium* of the same year, also ordered by the Books, were six *pulvinaria*, with the following divinities: Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, Mercury and Ceres¹⁴—a system of twelve corresponding to the Greek system. What with the identification of old Roman divinities with strange gods from abroad, and the introduction of other cults entirely new, Rome had taken to herself all of importance that the Greek system offered. Her next acquisition was of necessity to be made elsewhere.

The *lectisternium* of 217 B. C. was held at a time not far removed from the disaster at Trasimenus. The following year was marked by the still more alarming defeat at Cannae. In 215 the death of Hiero of Syracuse deprived Rome of a faithful ally, and in the person of his successor gave the Carthaginian a friend. Tarentum fell in 213, and the list of disasters was interrupted only by the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212. The current now turned, and the capture of Capua in 211, the recapture of Tarentum in 209, and above all the battle of the Metaurus in 207 made it clear that the Roman cause was not lost. But the war had lasted nearly twelve years and had been thoroughly exhausting to Rome. The coinage had been de-

¹³ Plin. *N. H.* XXIX 16.

¹⁴ Livy XXII 10, 9.

based; rich and poor had for years been called upon to make sacrifices for the support of the army; payment in all departments was in arrears; fields lay waste even outside the actual theatre of war; prices had risen to thrice their wonted height; and Latium itself, before the Metaurus, had begun to waver.¹⁵ The victory over Hasdrubal brought a tumult of rejoicing, but when this had subsided, the task confronting the wearied people hardly seemed smaller than before. The invincible Hannibal was still in Italy, and there was need of no less energy now that the war was to be offensive rather than defensive. It was a time when a recommendation of the Books was sure to meet with prompt obedience; and their intervention resulted in the introduction of a cult the history of which from its earliest inception in the East to its fall before Christianity in the fourth century A. D. it is purposed to trace in the following pages.

The consuls for the year 205 B. C., the fourteenth of the war, were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus. Scipio was fresh from his command in Spain and was urgent for an African expedition, but met with opposition from the conservative party in the Senate. While the debate was still undecided, the decemvirs, consulting the Sibylline Books on account of the very frequent showers of stones that year, came upon a *carmen* which said that whenever an enemy from an alien land should wage war on Italy he could be expelled thence and conquered if the Idaean Mother should be brought to Rome from Pessinus. Simultaneously with the report of the decemvirs to the Senate came the report of a legation which had made a pilgrimage with gifts to Delphi. The entrails had been auspicious, and a voice had come from the shrine telling them that the Roman people were about to win a victory far greater than that from the spoils of which (probably Metaurus) the legates bore gifts. This coinci-

¹⁵ Mommsen II 343.

dence, together with the thought of Scipio, who had demanded Africa as his province as though his soul were prescient of the end of the war, decided the course of the Senate. The Romans at that time had no allies in Asia, but the friendship of Attalus of Pergamum had been secured in the war which they had aided him to carry on against Philip, and they looked to him for aid in effecting the transfer of the goddess. An embassy of five citizens of note was selected, and five quinquiremes were voted them. Visiting Delphi on their way, they were assured that they would receive aid from Attalus, and were also directed to provide for the reception of the goddess in behalf of the State by the "best" man at Rome. Arrived at Pergamum, the king received them cordially, conducted them to Pessinus, and handed over to them the sacred stone—*lapis quidam non magnus, ferri manu hominis sine ulla impressione qui posset, coloris furvi atque atrii, angellis prominentibus inaequalis*¹⁶—which the natives of the place said was the Mother of the Gods.¹⁷ The object of their mission attained, the legates sent one of their number in advance to report the fact to the Senate and to communicate the will of the oracle in regard to the reception of the divinity. Publius Scipio Nasica, the son of the Gnaeus Scipio who had fallen in Spain, a youth not yet arrived at the quaestorial age, was selected as the best man in the State, and commissioned to meet the goddess at Ostia. The day of the arrival was made a holiday; the foremost matrons of Rome, among them Claudia Quinta, whose reputation had suffered from slander, but whose fame became more brilliant after the ministry of that day, received the goddess from Scipio's hands; and as by turns they carried her to the city the

¹⁶ Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* VII 49.

¹⁷ Varro *L. L.* VI 15 gives Pergamum as the city whence the image was brought. Cf. Ovid *Fast.* IV 265 sq. This view, however, is not shared by other authorities, and Pessinus is thought of throughout the history of the cult as the ancient seat of the image.

whole commonwealth thronged to meet them, censers were placed before the doors wherever they passed, incense was burned, and prayers were offered that propitiously and with good will the goddess would enter the city. Arrived at Rome, she was borne to the temple of Victory on the Palatine, inside the *pomerium*, contrary to the usual practice on the introduction of foreign divinities. The date was the day before the Nones of April, 204 B. C. The people in great numbers brought gifts, there was a *lectisternium*, and games called *Megalensia*.¹⁸

This is the historian's account, and is an attempt to give a faithful picture of the first scene in the history of the cult at Rome. The Mother appears as a dignified Roman deity. The account of the poet differs in that it introduces the marvellous and invests the scene with the attributes of the worship as it was in the time of its full development in the East.¹⁹ According to the poet's version, the coming of the Mother is the final act in the Trojan emigration; she had wished to come with Aeneas, but the fates had decreed otherwise, and she had remained content with giving him her trees for his ships.²⁰ Attalus is not willing to grant the Romans their desire; they plead their kinship with Aeneas, and his coming to Rome;²¹ the earth trembles and rumbles, and the goddess herself speaks:

Ipsa peti volui. Ne sit mora. Mitte volentem.

Dignus Roma locus quo deus omnis eat.²²

After her long journey by sea along the storied coasts of the Mediterranean, she finds assembled to meet her at the Tiber's mouth the knights, senators, and common people, with mothers, daughters, and Vestals in the front. The ship is drawn into the mouth of the stream by cables, but in vain are the efforts to move it far; the water is low, and

¹⁸ Livy XXIX 10-14.

¹⁹ Ovid *Fast.* IV 178 sqq.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* IX 80 sqq.

²¹ Herodian I 11, 3.

²² Ovid. *Fast.* IV 267-270.

the ship becomes fast in the marshy shallow. Confusion seizes the multitude at the omen; the ship is as firm as an island. Claudia Quinta, of noble birth and as beautiful as she is noble, chaste but not untouched by slander, steps forth from the line of mothers, daughters, and Vestals,²³ dips her hands into the waters of the Tiber, sprinkles thrice her head, lifts thrice her palms to the heavens, kneels to the goddess, strong in the consciousness of her own purity, and with hair flowing loose, calls upon her for vindication from the charges of her enemies. Then rising, with only slight exertion she draws the sacred craft up the stream, while the multitude sends cries of joy to the skies.



The Miracle of Claudia. Relief in the Capitoline Museum. [After Baumeister.]

But night falls before they have reached Rome, and they halt at a bend of the river. The following morning they

²³ Julian Imp. *Or.* V 160 and Aurel. Vict. *De Viris Illust.* 46 call Claudia a Vestal, confusing her with Claudia Vestalis, daughter of Appius Claudius Pulcher, Consul 143 B. C. Herodian I 11 mentions a Vestal as performing the miracle, but gives no name. Others are consistent in giving her merely as Claudia Quinta. Lact. II 7, 12, says of her: *impudica esset habita ob nimios corporis cultus*; and Appian *Hann.* 56 tells us that she was charged with adultery, but not yet judged.

burn incense, sacrifice a heifer before the garlanded stern, and continue the journey. Arrived at the Almo, a small stream which flows into the Tiber not far south of Rome, a hoary priest clad in shining vestments laves the goddess and the sacred utensils in its waters, while his attendants utter wild cries to the frenzied music of flutes and the beating of the tympanum. Claudia precedes the multitude, and the goddess herself, in a chariot drawn by oxen bedecked with fresh flowers, is borne through the Porta Capena, where Scipio receives her.

II.

THE GREAT MOTHER IN THE EAST.

The original home of the goddess who thus auspiciously took up her abode on western soil was within the limits of Asia Minor. It is true that among the Greeks, who saw in the Asiatic Mother their own Rhea, the ill-treated mother of Zeus, the idea was not uncommon that the latter had but transferred her seat from Crete to the more congenial wilds of Asia Minor;²⁴ but Demetrius of Scepsis, about 190 B. C., expressly denies that the worship of Rhea (meaning the Phrygian Great Mother) was either observed in or native to Crete, and says that it belonged only to Phrygia and the Troad, and that those who asserted the contrary recited legend rather than fact. The homonymy of places is a cause of the confusion, he says; for there is a Trojan Mt. Ida and a Cretan Mt. Ida, etc., etc.²⁵ But if there were those who, through confusion of the Asiatic Mother with Rhea, believed her to have come from Crete, the origin and growth of her worship is unanimously located in Asia Minor, in the central, western, or northwestern portions. Neanthes of Cyzicus attributed the founding of the cult in his city to the Argonauts,²⁶ and Herodotus represents the Cyzicenes as holding an annual festival in honor of the Mother of the Gods in the sixth century.²⁷ There was also

²⁴ *Scholia Victoriana ad Iliad.* XXIV 675: ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔμμεναι εὐνάς, sic tradunt. 'Ρέα γὰρ φοβηθεῖσα τὰς ἀπειλὰς Κρόνου, σὺν ταῖς θυγατρᾶσι ᾤκησε Σίπυλον κρυφίως ἱερον αὐτῇ (αὐτῇ) ἐκεῖ. Cf. *Orac. Sibyll.* V 130, 1.

²⁵ Strabo 472.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 45. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius *Arg.* I 1073-1152.

²⁷ IV 76.

a temple at Sardis, where the cult was of such long standing that the divinity was called by Herodotus ἐπιχόρη;²⁸ and the various legends agree in locating the rise of the worship in Galatia, Phrygia, Lydia, or on the borderland between.²⁹

Notwithstanding the almost universal designation of the Mother as Phrygian in later times, she was not of Phrygian origin ethnographically. Ramsay has pointed out that the social and religious system of the Phrygian race, which invaded Asia Minor from the North about 900 B. C., was patriarchal, while the system of the native race which they conquered was matriarchal.³⁰ It is therefore probable that the Phrygians, on their entrance into the interior of the peninsula, found a deity whom the native inhabitants worshiped as a Great Mother, and that the later Phrygian Great Mother was only a development of that divinity.

The Great Mother, then, was really pre-Phrygian in origin, and can be called Phrygian only in a geographical sense. As late even as the transfer of the image to Rome she was not yet generally regarded as Phrygian. Apollonius Rhodius calls her ἐνναέτης Φρυγίης.³¹ but the cult had its strongest center in Pessinus in Galatia, a city beyond the borders of Phrygia, which received its name, according to one legend, from having been the spot where the sacred stone fell (πεσείν) from heaven.³² Sophocles knows the Mother as the great goddess who rules by the Pactolus, a stream near Pessinus;³³ Pausanias and Arnobius, quoting

²⁸ V 102.

²⁹ Diod. Sic. III 58; Paus. VII 17; Arnob. V 5; Firm. Mat. *De Error.* 3; Ovid *Fast.* IV 223 sqq.; Sallust. Phil. *De Diis et Mundo* 4; Jul. Or. V 165 sqq.

³⁰ *Jour. Hell. Stud.* IX 367.

³¹ *Arg.* I 1126.

³² Herodian I 11: ἐκ τοῦ πεσόντος ἀγαλματος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

³³ *Phil.* 390.

early legends, call her Ἀγδιστις, from a mountain which the former calls Agdistis and locates near Pessinus, and which the latter calls Agdus;³⁴ an epigram in the Palatine Anthology designates her as ἡ παρὰ Σαγγαρίῳ Μάτηρ, the Sangarius being another stream near the city^{34a}. Other centers of her worship, less famous, were Cyzicus, where she was called Δινδυμία and Λοβρίνη, from the neighboring mountains Dindymon and Locrinon;³⁵ the neighborhood of still another Mt. Dindymon, between Lydia and Phrygia, where Herodotus knew her as Δινδυμήνη;³⁶ and Mt. Ida in the Troad, where she was called Μητήρ Ἰδαία.³⁷

The name by which the Great Mother became commonly known to the Romans and which is the usual modern designation, Κυβέλη, *Cybele*, occurs first on an altar near Prynnessus, inscribed *Matar Kubile*.³⁸ It is essentially a literary name, however, and is extremely rare in inscriptions. It makes its first appearance in literature in Pindar.³⁹ Aristophanes and Euripides use it, and it was so well known by the time of Strabo that he gave his version of its derivation. According to him, it is to be derived, like so many other designations of the Mother, ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, and the τόπος from which this one was taken is a mountain or range of mountains.⁴⁰ Diodorus derives it from a

³⁴ Cf. note 29.

^{34a} VI 234.

³⁵ Apollon. *Arg.* I 1125; Nicand. *Alex.* 8 and scholia.

³⁶ I 80.

³⁷ Eurip. *Orest.* 1453; Apollon. *Arg.* I 1128. There are numerous other designations derived from places of worship at a later time which will be cited in their proper place. To secure continuity and to avoid investing the purely Asiatic Mother with Greek or Roman characteristics, as sparing use as possible is made in this chapter of testimony not antedating the Roman visit to Pessinus, both as to names, character, and details of worship.

³⁸ Ramsay *Jour. Hell. Stud.* III 35-41; V 244-246.

³⁹ *Frag.* 80 Bergk. It is foreshadowed, however, by the use in Hipponax, *frag.* 121 Bergk, of Κύβηλις, an adjective form.

⁴⁰ 469; 470; 567: καβάπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Κυβέλων ἢ Κυβέλην.

mountain Κύβελον.⁴¹ Stephanus of Byzantium, s. v. Κυβέλεια, calls Κύβελα a sacred mountain, from which Κυβέλη ἡ Πάα is called Κυβεληγενής and Κυβελίς; and Hesychius and Suidas, understanding a range rather than a single peak, explain it as ὄρη Φρυγίας.⁴² The parallel form Κυβήβη, *Cybebe*, which became common among Latin writers, was used as early as the end of the sixth century B. C. by Charon of Lampsacus, quoted by Photius under the word Κύβηβος, with which he considers Κυβήβη to be connected.⁴³ Still another form, Κυβήκη, appears in Hesychius.

Thus far the appellations cited have been almost without exception derived from localities where the cult of the goddess thrived. Among those derived rather from her character the most common is μήτηρ θεῶν.⁴⁴ Other designations and epithets in this class are μάτηρ μεγάλη, πολυπότνια, πυμπότνια, μήτηρ συμπάντων μακάρων, μήτηρ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων, μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, πυμβώτις, μάτηρ αὐτοῦ Διός, παντότεκνος, μάτηρ ὀβρίμα, ὀρεία, ὀρεστέρα, δαίμων οὐρείη, and ἀνταίη δαίμων.⁴⁵

In a study of the character of the Great Mother and her worship before her cult had spread beyond the limits of Asia Minor, to approximate the truth is all that is possible; for our appreciation of the religion of early Asia Minor depends upon evidence given in the literature, art,

⁴¹ III 58.

⁴² Κύβελα· ὄρη Φρυγίας καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θάλαμοι. Cf. schol. to Aristoph. *Birds* 877. Another derivation is from a city Κυβέλλα. Hipponax l. c.: παρὰ τὸ ἐν Κυβέλλᾳ πόλει Φρυγίας τιμαῖσθαι.

⁴³ Κύβηβος· ὁ κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, θεοφόρητος. Κυβηβᾶν. μαίνεσθαι, ἐνθουσιαν. In *Etymol. Mag.* 543, 22 κύβη, the head, is given as the root of κύβηβος, κυβιστάω, etc. Martianus Capella VII 740 derives Cybebe from *cubus*, a cube, Gr. κύβος.

⁴⁴ Herod. IV 76.

⁴⁵ Eurip. *Bacch.* 78 and Pindar *Frag.* 57 Bergk; Apollon. *Arg.* I 1151; *Anth. Pal.* VI 281; Apollon. *Arg.* 109‡; *Hom. Hymns* 13; Aristoph. *Birds* 875; Soph. *Phil.* 389; *ibid.*; Kaibel *Epig.* 44; Eurip. *Orest.* 1453; *ibid. frag.* 475, 13; Soph. *Phil.* 389; Apollon. *Arg.* I 1119; *ibid.* 1141; *Orphic Hymns* 30, 5 calls the Mother ὀρειουανής, and Orph. *Arg.* 547 παμμητειρα.

and inscriptions of two foreign peoples, and that too given for the most part at a date late enough for the currents of outside influence to have had no small modifying effect. If Greek art, its elements borrowed from the East and perfected on its own soil, could early return and teach its progenitors, it is likely also that Greek religion early influenced that of the interior of Asia Minor. The Great Mother, therefore, cannot be seen in her purely Asiatic aspect. While that part of her nature which is agreeable is the more attractive when viewed in the golden light of Greek poetry, that part which is repulsive is no doubt also seen in an exaggerated form.

The universal motherhood of the goddess is the feature of her character most frequently brought to the attention. She is Mother of the Gods, Great Mother, Mistress of All, Mother of All the Blest, Mother of All Gods and All Men, All-nourisher, All-begetter. She is Mother of Zeus himself. "The winds, the sea, the earth, and the snowy seat of Olympus are hers, and when from her mountains she ascends into the great heavens, the son of Kronos himself gives way before her, and in like manner do also the other immortal blest honor the dread goddess."⁴⁶

She is thus the great parent of all nature. As Phrygia and its neighborhood, though a mountainous region, has also its rich, fertile valleys, she is as well a guardian over man and his interests in the form of flock and herd and growing vegetation as over the untamed and uncultivated parts of the natural kingdom. But it is her character as a deity of wild nature that comes most prominently to view. She is the Mountain Mother, the Mighty Mother of Ida, the Divinity of the Mountains. She has a passion for the mountains, almost invariably has her sanctuaries on the mountains, and frequently takes her name from them. Her usual designation *Κυβέλη* is derived either from mountains or caves. She has places of worship in caves; Nican-

⁴⁶ Apollon. *Arg.* I 1093 sqq.

der mentions 'Ραίης Δοβρίνης θαλάμαι, which are explained as τόποι ἱεροὶ ἐπ'όγειοι.⁴⁷ She has dominion over the sea and the winds; when the Argonauts founded her cult at Cyzicus, the halcyon was her messenger, and in her name foretold a calm. An altar of stones was reared to her there on the mountain, and the Argonauts made sacrifice garlanded with the leaves of the oak, which was sacred to her, while her image was fashioned from a vine.⁴⁸ The poet of *Hom. Hymns* 14 addresses her as one who delights in the clamor of wolves and gleaming-eyed lions, in echoing mountains and woodland haunts. Anacharsis the Scythian worships her in a place πλέη δένδρων.⁴⁹ She is Φρυγίων θρέπτειρα λεόντων, and lions are her faithful companions in literature and art throughout her history.⁵⁰ She is λεοντόδεφρος, and ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἑφεδρος.⁵¹ In the Phrygian legend given by Diodorus she cares for men and flocks, and there is a suggestion of the witch in her healing children by magic.⁵² She herself as a child is exposed on the mountains, is nourished by wild beasts, and is associated with the satyr Marsyas in her mad wanderings. In *Anth. Pal.* VI 281 she is called on to hasten the maturity of the little Aristodice for the duties of wedlock. Finally, her universal power over the natural kingdom is nowhere more charmingly described than in Apollon. *Arg.* I 1140 sqq.: The trees showered down fruit in wondrous wise, and at their feet of her own accord did the earth send forth the blossoms of delicate herbage. And wild creatures, leaving their dens and the thickets, came forth fawning. And yet another wonder did she perform; for never before had Dindymon streamed

⁴⁷ *Alcx.* 8 and schol.

⁴⁸ Apollon. *Arg.* 1034-1124 and schol.

⁴⁹ Herod. IV 76.

⁵⁰ *Anth. Pal.* VI 51; see below, p. 317.

⁵¹ *Anth. Pal.* VI 94; Soph. *Phil.* 395.

⁵² III 58.

with water, but at that moment did it jet forth before them unceasingly from the parched ridge.

Still more evidence as to the essential wildness of the Great Mother's character is found in the nature of her priests and their manner of worship. The mythical Idaean Dactyloi were the first to discover and forge iron, and had learned the art from their mistress, the Great Mother.⁵³ Her mythical attendants, the Corybantes, early became a synonym for what was noisy and orgiastic.⁵⁴ The Curetes, whose din of spear and shield at the birth of Zeus had drowned the infant's cries and saved him from Kronos, also became servants of the Mother upon her confusion with Rhea.⁵⁵ The actual priests of the goddess were called Γάλλοι, a name which the ancients explained as taken from the stream Gallus, which flowed into the Sangarius not far from Pessinus,⁵⁶ and on the banks of which the orgies of the Mother took place. The waters of the stream were fabled to inspire madness in those who drank of them.⁵⁷ The name Galloi first appears in the beginning of the second century B. C., in the Alexandrian epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina*. The priests were further called γόητες, sorcerers, θαλαμηπόλοι, dwellers in chambers (caves?) ἀμφίπολοι θαλάμης.⁵⁸ They were eunuchs, were attired in female garb, and

⁵³ Strabo 473; schol. to Apollon. *Arg.* I 1129.

⁵⁴ Eurip. *Bacch.* 125.

⁵⁵ In *Orph. Hymns* 30 they are so represented, and are called *κυρισηταί*, leapers, *ποδόκροτοι*, beaters of the foot in the dance, *ρόμβηται*, whirlers, *ὄρέστεροι*, creatures of the mountains, *ὄργιοφάνται*, teachers of orgies, etc.—designations which, of course, describe also the priests of the Mother at that time.

⁵⁶ Plin. *N. H.* V 147, VI 4; Herodian I 11. Movers *Die Phoenizier* 637 derives it from a Semitic root, and gives it a meaning similar to that of Corybas, *Kopfschüttler*, and *κύβηβος*. Stephanus s. v. *Gallus* relates that a Phrygian priest of that name in the service of the Mother, after having castrated himself in a frenzy, lay down by a stream, which was known thereafter as the Gallus.

⁵⁷ Ovid *Fast.* IV 365.

⁵⁸ *Anth. Pal.* VI 173, 220; IX 340.

wore their hair, fragrant with ointment, wound in coils on the top of the head, letting it hang loose, however, while performing their orgies. Priests, and priestesses, who were as common as priests in the service of the Mother, often dedicated to the goddess their locks, which they had tossed wildly in the frenzied dance.⁵⁹ The attempt to derive Cybele from *κύβη*, the head, has been noted. Clothing and instruments, as well as hair, were sometimes dedicated.⁶⁰ Anacharsis the Scythian, attempting to introduce the worship among his countrymen, sacrificed *ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα*.⁶¹

The instruments used in the worship were no less in accord with the wild nature of the Mother. There was the *αὔλος*, flute, whose invention is credited to the goddess herself.⁶² The *κρόταλα* were hand-clappers, or castanets, used in the dance.⁶³ Thirdly, there were the *κύμβαλα*, cymbals, brazen disks, hollowed and sharp-toned—*ῥέξιδονπα κοιλοχείλεα*.⁶⁴ Most frequently mentioned of all is the *τύμπανον*, *τύπανον*, tympanum, described by Photius as *ἐκ δερμάτων γινόμενον καὶ κρονόμενον ὃ κατεῖχον αἱ Βάκχαι*. It was also described as *βυρσότονον κύκλωμα*, and was native to Phrygia.⁶⁵ It was a necessary part of the equipment of a priest in the sixth century,⁶⁶ and Euripides calls it the invention of Dionysus and Rhea (Cybele), and of the Corybantes.⁶⁷ In *Anth. Pal.* the story is repeated several times of a Gallus who met a lion in a cave, frightened the savage beast by sounding his tympanum, and afterwards dedicated the instrument to the god-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* VI 217-220.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* VI 51, 234, 237.

⁶¹ Herod. IV 76.

⁶² Diod. III 58. Hyagnis is the inventor in *Anth. Pal.* IX 340 and *Marm. Par.* 10.

⁶³ *Anth. Pal.* VII 223. Suidas describes them as *σχιζόμενος κάλαμος*. Publilius Syrus calls the stork *crotalistris*, and a chatterbox in *The Clouds* is called *κρόταλον*.

⁶⁴ *Anth. Pal.* VI 94.

⁶⁵ Eurip. *Bacch.* 58, 124. The Mother is *τυμπανοτερπής* in *Orph. Hymns* 26, 11.

⁶⁶ Herod. IV 76.

⁶⁷ Eurip. l. c.

dess.⁶⁸ Diogenes Tragicus mentions mitre-wearing women of Asiatic Cybele, daughters of wealthy Phrygians, with tympana, rhomboi, and the clashing of brazen cymbals.^{68a} The rhombus mentioned here was an instrument of the drum or tympanum kind, but does not seem to have been common, at least in later times.⁶⁹ In Pindar appears also the torch—*αἰθομένα δῆς ὑπὸ ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις*—indicating night celebrations, which may have been, however, a Greek addition.⁷⁰ All the instruments of the cult are classed as *οἰστρήματα λύσσης*, and served to inflame the ministers and worshipers of the goddess to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Mad yelling was another feature of the worship. Nicander compares the shrieks of a madman to the curdling yell—*ῥιγγλὸν ὑλαγμόν*—of a priestess of the Mother, which makes all shudder who hear.⁷¹ A Gallus in the Palatine Anthology is *μάκρ' ὀλολυζόμενος*.^{71a} A place of worship is called *ὄργαστήριον*.⁷² The frenzied excitement of priests is *μανία* and *λύσσα*, and its culmination is self-scourging, or self-laceration with knives, to symbolize the supreme act of consecration to the Mother, which consisted in self-emasculation. The eunuch Alexis, after the ecstasy of the orgies, dedicates his sharp-voiced cymbals, his deep-toned flutes, made of the horns of a calf, his sonorous tympana, his yellow locks, tossed in the dance, and his knives, stained with red blood.⁷³ Epithets applied to the Galloi in token of their emasculation and chastity are *θῆλυς*, *χειράμενος γονίμην, ἴθρις, ἄγνος, νεήτομος, Γάλλαι*.⁷⁴ The act by which they deprived themselves of manhood and consecrated themselves to the

⁶⁸ VI 217, 218, 219.

^{68a} Athen. 636.

⁶⁹ Apollon. *Arg.* I 1139; cf. *ρόπτρον*, *Anth. Pal.* VI 74.

⁷⁰ *Frag.* 57 B; cf. Herod. IV 76; *Anth. Pal.* VI 173; VII 223.

⁷¹ *Alex.* 217-220.

^{71a} VI 234.

⁷² Nicand. *Alex.* 8.

⁷³ *Anth. Pal.* VI 51.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* VI 51, 218, 219, 220, 234.

service of the Mother was voluntary, and sometimes performed by their own hands when they were at the highest point of frenzied excitement.⁷⁵ The custom makes its first appearance, together with the Galloi, in Alexandrian literature, about 200 B. C., and was probably of Semitic origin.⁷⁶

A complete account of the rites and festivals of the Great Mother while she was yet purely Asiatic, cannot be given. The Argonauts poured a libation to her over a blazing sacrifice, accompanying the rite with a dance in which they clashed together their shields and swords, from which Apollonius derives the use of the rhombus and the tympanum of his time.⁷⁷ A priestess in Nicander is called *βωμιστριά*, altar-attendant, and *κεροφόρος*, bearer of the *κρατήρ*.⁷⁸ The Galloi are also called *μητραγύρται*, begging priests of the Mother, showing the manner in which the cult was supported.⁷⁹ Arrian says that the day of lamentation and the bathing of the Mother were Phrygian customs taken over into the Roman cult,⁸⁰ and it is probable that there was a series of festal days every spring in Phrygia as there was at Rome under the Empire, of which the bathing of the goddess in the stream Gallus occupied one day. Servius also states that the Romans worshiped according to the Phrygian manner,⁸¹ but it is unsafe to invest the early cult in Asia Minor with all customs practised centuries afterward among a people so different from the eastern peoples as the Romans were.

Inseparably connected with the Great Mother is the

⁷⁵ Schol. Nicand. *Alex.* 8; Serv. *ad Aen.* IX 115; Catull. LXIII 4, 5; cf. Plin. *N. H.* XXXV 165: *Samia testa Matris Deum sacerdotes qui Galli vocantur virilitatem amputare, nec aliter citra perniciem.*

⁷⁶ Rapp, Roscher's *Lex.* II 1, 1657.

⁷⁷ Apollon. *Arg.* I 1134-1140.

⁷⁸ *Alex.* 217.

⁷⁹ Antiph. in Athen. 553 C; Dion. Hal. II 19, 4.

⁸⁰ *Tact.* 33, 4.

⁸¹ *Ad Aen.* XII 836.

strange being known as Attis. A study of the various versions of the legend in which he appears will serve to give a fuller appreciation of the character of the Mother as well as to show the relation which the two bear to each other. The legend first makes its appearance in the elegiac poet Hermesianax, about 340 B. C. It is given in abstract by Pausanias, and is meant to account only for the origin of Attis. Attis was the son of Calaus, a Phrygian, and was impotent from his birth. Arrived at the age of manhood, he migrated to Lydia, where he instituted the worship of the Great Mother. He was held in so great honor by the Lydians that Zeus in anger sent into their fields a savage boar, which destroyed Attis and also some of the Lydians. But, continues Pausanias, the Phrygians themselves do not believe this story. There is another legend among them, which says that Zeus in his sleep having discharged seed upon the earth, a monster having both male and female organs sprang into existence. Agdistis was the name given the monster, which was of such terror to the gods that they deprived it of male organs, from which in turn sprang an almond tree, from the effect of whose fruit the daughter of the river Sangarius bore a son. The child was exposed; but, having been cared for by a he-goat, it became beautiful surpassing the human, and inspired love in the breast of Agdistis. When this child, who was named Attis, was of suitable age, his kinsmen sent him to Pessinus to espouse the king's daughter; but during the nuptial hymn Agdistis suddenly appeared, whereupon Attis in a frenzy emasculated himself, his example being followed by the king. Agdistis, seeing the consequences of the madness which she had inspired in Attis, repented of her act, and prevailed upon Zeus to grant that the body of the youth should never decay nor waste. These are the best known legends about Attis, concludes Pausanias.⁶² Elsewhere he

⁶² VII 17, 9-12.

states that the burial-place of Attis is on the mountain Agdistis at Pessinus.⁴³

Another version, differing only in details, is given by Arnobius, a Christian writer of the fourth century, on the authority of a certain Timotheus, otherwise unknown to us, "and others equally learned who have drawn their information from recondite works on antiquity." The mountain here is called Agdus, instead of Agdistis, and it was in this place that Deucalion and Pyrrha created the human race, among whom was also the Great Mother. Zeus having been disappointed in his love for her, Agdistis comes into being as in the story of Pausanias, and is deprived of male attributes by a stratagem of Dionysus. From the blood springs a pomegranate tree, whose fruit, in the same manner as that of the almond in Pausanias, brings into being a child, called Attis for his beauty. His mother is Nana, the daughter of the river-god Sangarius; she is imprisoned by her father, who intends to starve her, but is nourished by her mother with apples and other food until the child is born. The Mother of the Gods and Agdistis are both enamored of the youth Attis, and the latter gives him in secret many gifts of the chase. Attis finally betrays the secret of their love while in wine. The king and his daughter are both named in this version—they are Midas and Ia. On the occasion of the marriage, which he has planned in order to rescue Attis from the shameless love of Agdistis, Midas orders the city gates to be closed, but the Mother of the Gods, for the good of the youth, whose fate she knows, raises the walls of the city on her head and enters. Agdistis strikes madness into the entire company, and Attis, exhausted by his frenzy, at length throws himself down under a pine tree, emasculates himself, delivering to Agdistis the mutilated organs with the words: *tibi, Agdesti, haec habe, propter quae motus tantos furialium discriminum concitasti.* But the Mother buries them, and

⁴³ I 4, 5.

violets spring from them; and as for Ia, having enveloped the body of Attis in wool and mourned over him in company with Agdistis, she kills herself and is buried by the Mother, purple violets springing from her blood and the almond from her grave. The Mother bears the fatal pine into her cave and in company with Agdistis wildly laments the death of Attis. Zeus will not restore him to life, for that is against the will of the Fates, but he consents to allow the body of the youth to remain undecayed, his hair to continue to grow, and his little finger to move, whereupon Agdistis consecrates the body in Pessinus and causes it to be honored annually with priestly ceremonies.⁸⁴

The above accounts are intended by their authors merely to present the origin of Attis, and the mention of the Mother is incidental. There is no need to suppose, with Rapp, that Agdistis and the Mother are identical, and that Arnobius has blended several accounts in ignorance of it.⁸⁵ The conception of the Great Mother as a monster like Agdistis, which this would imply, nowhere appears, nor does the conception of Attis as in any way a blood descendant of the Mother appear. The appearance of the Mother at the nuptials of Attis and Ia is not, as Rapp asserts, without motive; she is impelled by her love for the youth, and by her knowledge that he is fated to remain safe only as long as he is not bound by marriage ties — *ne quid accideret maesti*.⁸⁶ Her behavior throughout is that of a protectress-lover, while the character of Agdistis exhibits nothing in common with that of the Mother. It is true that the Mother was occasionally known by the name of Agdistis,⁸⁷ but this points to a confusion of the legend of Attis' birth with the legend of his relations with the Mother, or it is an appellation derived from the rock Agdus, the scene of her creation by Deucalion and Pyrrha. The version of

⁸⁴ Arnob. V 5-8.

⁸⁵ Roscher's Lex. I 1, 716.

⁸⁶ Arnob. V 7.

⁸⁷ Strabo 469, 567.

Arnobius is a blending of two tales, but not two tales presenting the same characters. He or his authorities blended, or found already blended by tradition, one legend of the birth of Attis and another legend of the relations of Attis and the Mother.

Still another account, given as Phrygian tradition, is found in Diodorus. In this version the Mother, rather than Attis, as in the others, is the principal character. The natives of that region, says Diodorus, tell in their myths that in olden times Meion was king of Lydia and Phrygia, and that having taken to wife Dindyme he became the father of a female child, which he exposed on a mountain called Kybelon. There by reason of a certain divine instinct did the panthers and other wild beasts which excel in strength come to the infant and nourish it; struck with the marvelousness of which occurrence a certain shepherdess of that region took up the child and cared for it, naming it Cybele from the place. Growing up the child excelled in beauty and wisdom, and was a marvel of quick intelligence. She was the first to devise the many-reeded syrinx, and invented for games and the dance the cymbals and the tympanum. Further, she devised means for the healing of animals and of little children; and indeed so many were the babes she saved by charms, and so fond was she of holding them, and so great was the zeal and the love she displayed in this way that she came to be called by everyone the Mountain Mother. Now Cybele, arrived at the flower of youth, loved a certain strippling of those regions called Attis then, but later also Pappas, and having had secret relations with him, became pregnant. About this time the king and queen made the discovery that Cybele was their daughter, and she was received into the royal household. The father was at first ignorant of her relations with Attis, but soon discovering her fault, killed her attendants and her lover and cast forth their bodies unburied; whereupon Cybele, wild with grief

for her lost lover and her attendants, became mad and rushed away to the fields, where alone and with locks flying loose, shrieking and sounding her tympanum, she went about the whole region. Marsyas, a cherished friend of her earlier days, became her companion, and it was during their wanderings that the famous contest with Apollo occurred; after which Apollo, enamored of Cybele, accompanied her even as far as the land of the Hyperboreans. But in Phrygia, a plague having fallen upon the people and the land having been smitten with famine, the unfortunate inhabitants consulted the god, and were bidden to entomb the body of Attis and to worship Cybele as divine. The body of Attis had disappeared through age, and so the Phrygians wrought an image of the youth, before which with lamentation and dirges they were accustomed to appease with proper honors the wrath of him they had ill-treated; a thing which they perform even up to our time, adds Diodorus. On the altars of Cybele, established of old, they were wont to sacrifice each year; but afterward they erected a costly temple to her in Pessinus, held her in the highest honor, and made sacrifice to her on a scale most magnificent, Midas the king joining in with them. Beside her statue were placed panthers and lions in memory of her having been nourished by those animals. Such, then, concludes the writer, is the myth as related among the Phrygians.⁸⁸

This version, it will be noticed, contains nothing of the supernatural except the command of the oracle to entomb Attis and to give Cybele divine honors. Equally striking is the omission of the detail of emasculation, which was so prominent in the accounts of Pausanias and Arnobius, and which was so important in the practice of the cult itself.

Still more euhemeristic is the interpretation of Firmicus Maternus, 347 A. D., who attributes the origin of the Phrygian cult to a rich woman, or a queen, and a youth

⁸⁸ Diodorus III 58, 59.

who despised her and on whom she wished to avenge herself.⁸⁹ Other accounts of the relations of Attis and the Mother, in which the latter is always a goddess and the former merely a beautiful youth, appear in Ovid, the philosopher Sallust, and the Emperor Julian.⁹⁰ In Ovid, Attis inspires a chaste love in Cybele, who enlists him in her service with the admonition to remain ever chaste. He pledges himself, but breaks his oath through love of the nymph Sagaritis, whom the goddess in anger destroys; whereupon the youth rushes in madness to the height of Dindymon, lacerates his body with a sharp flint, trails his locks in the dust, and finally castrates himself. Here the chasteness of the goddess and her ministers is emphasized, and the self-mutilation of Attis is consequently a penalty. Sallust represents Cybele as first seeing Attis lying on the banks of the stream Gallus, where she was inspired with love for him and gave him the *πῆλος*. Attis returns to her service after his punishment. The account of Julian is the same, except that he represents Attis as having been exposed on the banks of the Gallus.⁹¹

When the cult of the Mother began to rise into prominence cannot be said. The record of *Marmor Parium* 10, dating the appearance of the image of the Mother of the Gods and the invention of the flute by Hyagnis in 1506 B. C., shows only that the cult was of great antiquity in 264 B. C., when the record was inscribed. Homer knew vine-clad Phrygia and the banks of the Sangarius; he knew Mt. Sipylus, another special haunt of the goddess, Mt. Ida, one of the most famed of her abodes, and Tereia, in the vicinity of Cyzicus; but he knew no Great Mother of the Gods.⁹² The writer of *Hom. Hymns* 14, on the contrary, knew intimately at least the external forms of the cult.

⁸⁹ *De Error.* 3.

⁹⁰ Ovid *Fast.* IV 223 sqq.; Sall. *De Diis et Mundo* 4; Jul. *Or.* V 165 sqq.

⁹¹ For interpretation of the Cybele-Attis myth see pp. 284 sqq.

⁹² *Jl.* III 184-187; XVI 719; XXIV 615; VIII 47; XIV 283.

The so-called Niobe on Mt. Sipylus, now identified as the Mother, and two other reliefs near the tomb of Midas, in the vicinity of Prymnessus, dating from before the middle of the sixth century B. C., form the earliest definite evidence of the existence of the divinity.⁹³ In the time of Herodotus she was ἐπιχωρίη at Sardis, was established on Mt. Dindymon and at Cyzicus, and had the particular designation Διόνυμῆρη as well as the general μήτηρ θεῶν, and was worshiped by priests who had the tympanum in hand and wore images on their breasts.⁹⁴ By Sophocles' time Pessinus had become a center of her cult, and a century later her rites were solemnized in Caria by eunuchs, women, and flute and tympanum-players.⁹⁵ The first Attis legend dates from about the same time. At the end of the third century B. C. the goddess begins to be regarded as especially Phrygian,⁹⁶ but it is not until the time of Strabo and later that evidence appears of Phrygia's being regarded as the home *par excellence* of the cult.⁹⁷

The fact that the dawn of history finds the cult of the Mother widely spread in Asia Minor—Sardis, Cyzicus, Mt. Dindymon and Prymnessus—supports the theory of Ramsay that the divinity was not brought in by the Phrygians, but belonged to the native population of the peninsula. The native deity suffered modification first at the hands of the Phrygian invaders, and by the end of the third century B. C. gave evidence of having been influenced by the Semitic religions. The medium of communication between the Semitic people and the Phrygians were the Lydians, who represented the Semitic stock in Asia Minor, and the date when their influence began to operate was probably not far removed from the year 585 B. C., when Lydia be-

⁹³ Ramsay *Jour. Hell. Stud.* III 35-41; V 241-246; Reinach *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XIII 556.

⁹⁴ I 80; IV 76; V 102.

⁹⁵ Polyæn. VIII 53, 4.

⁹⁶ Apollon. *Arg.* I 1126.

⁹⁷ Schol. to above; Strabo 469; Catull. LXIII.

came mistress of Phrygia. The revolting sensual rites, the presence of the hermaphroditic element, and the mountain temples of the Cybele cult all have their parallels in Semitic worship; the Great Mother's resemblance to Atargatis, or Astarte, the Syrian goddess described by Lucian, is almost complete; she is identified with the Cappadocian Mā; monuments existed in Babylon and Phasis on which were representations of a goddess resembling the Mother; the myth of Astronoe and her love, in Phoenicia, is analogous to the story of the Mother and Attis; and the likeness of the Aphrodite-Adonis myth, native to Phoenicia and Cyprus, is the most striking of all.⁹⁸ Indeed Charon of Lampsacus identifies Aphrodite with Cybele,⁹⁹ and in the first years of the second century B. C. Attis was honored at Peiræus in a festival similar to the Ἀδώνια.¹⁰⁰

Further confirmation of the fact that the Phrygian worship was influenced by the Semitic is found in the late appearance of the eunuch priests, the Galloi, who are first mentioned in Alexandrian literature, about 200 B. C. Attis, too, does not seem to have existed in the original native cult, but to have been a later addition from the South. The name Ates occurs on the Tomb of Midas, but is evidently not that of the Attis who is connected with the Mother. The early art of Asia Minor does not show him in company with the goddess and her lions. Herodotus makes no mention of him, although he does relate the story of one Atys. This Atys was the son of Croesus, king of Lydia, and met a violent death, while yet in the bloom of young manhood, at the hands of his friend the Phrygian Adrastus, who pierced him with a javelin with which he had intended to slay a boar.¹ Had the talkative historian known the Cybele-Attis legend, there is little doubt that he would

⁹⁸ Roscher's Lex. II 1, 1651.

⁹⁹ Photius s. v. Κυβηβός: Νάρων δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν καὶ Αὐδῶν Κυβήβην λέγεσθαι.

¹⁰⁰ Comparetti *Annales de l'Institut* 1862, 23.

¹ I 43.

have included it among his many narrations of the strange and interesting. The first appearance of the name Attis occurs as late as the middle of the fourth century B. C.,² and the first legend, that of Hermesianax, dates from about the same time and records the death of Attis in Lydia by a boar sent by Zeus. Herodotus' tale of Atys the son of Croesus, resembling the legend of Adonis, who was also slain by a boar, and containing the name Atys, easily became grafted upon Attis the companion of the Mother in the form of the Hermesianax legend. It seems probable, therefore, that the Cybele-Attis legend had not taken on definite shape much before 340 B. C., the *floruit* of Hermesianax, and that his worship rose in Phrygia after the beginning of the Lydian supremacy in 585, and was really only the Adonis worship of the Semitic race introduced by the Lydians. A head with Phrygian cap and the front part of a boar appear on a coin of Cyzicus of 430-412 B. C.³ Attis and Adonis were identified even by ancient writers,⁴ and we have noted the blending of the Aphrodite-Adonis and Cybele-Attis cults at Peiraeus. Haakh has gone so far as to conjecture that the names Attis and Adonis are identical.⁵ The comparatively late rise of Attis in Phrygia is the more probable in view of the fact that Pindar, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripides, as well as Herodotus, while referring to the Great Mother, say nothing of her connection with Attis. Theopompus is the first to give the name, and the only one before Hermesianax. In Theocritus, however, the story of Cybele and Attis is familiar enough to be placed beside those of Aphrodite and Adonis and Selene and Endymion.⁶ Neanthes of Cyzicus, about the same

² Theopompus in Suidas p. 370.

³ Head *Hist. Num.* 453.

⁴ Hippolyt. *Ref.* V 9: "Ἀττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀδούριον τριπόδῃτον" Ἀδωνιν; cf. Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* III 23.

⁵ *Stuttgarter Philolog. Vers.* 1857, 176 sqq.; cf. C. Curtius *Das Metroon in Athen* 10.

⁶ XX 40 sqq.

time, wrote something in explanation of Attis which Harpocration denominated *μυστικός λόγος*.⁷ Nicander, in the beginning of the second century B. C., mentions the *ὀργαστήριον* Ἄττεω in connection with the *θαλάμαι* where the priests of the Mother consecrated themselves.⁸ Apollonius, however, in an extended passage on the earliest worship of the deity at Cyzicus, says nothing about Attis,⁹ and the Alexandrian epigrams in the Palatine Anthology are equally silent concerning him, although they give abundant evidence regarding the Galloi and their service.

It is impossible to say when the Great Mother made her first passage into Europe, or how she thrived there in her earliest days. Two routes lay open by which her cult might spread toward the West—that of the Hellespont and Thrace, and that of the Aegean islands. The attempt of Anacharsis the Scythian in the sixth century to carry the worship across the Hellespont, narrated by Herodotus, indicates the one direction of the future spread of the cult. That this route should have been the first is natural as well on account of the wildness of the country as on account of the greater similarity of the peoples. Through the intercourse which the Phrygians of Asia Minor had with the branch of their own race which they left behind in Europe, the deity which they had found in their new home naturally became common to both stocks. The Thracians, who already possessed the orgiastic Dionysus cult, would receive from kinsmen a cult allied to it in nature, like that of the Mother, with greater readiness than the less closely related people of the island route. The route, therefore, by which the Dionysus cult traveled to Boeotia and Phocis, would also be the natural route for the cult of the Great Mother. The date of the passage of the worship by the island route is also uncertain, but the worship existed in

⁷ S. v. *Ἀττης*.

⁸ *Alex.* 8.

⁹ *Arg.* I 1123-1152.

a fully developed state at Peiraeus at the beginning of the second century B. C., and had existed privately as early as the end of the fourth century.¹⁰

It is not surprising, then, to find that the Great Mother and the essential features of her cult were known in Boeotia at a time earlier than evidence warrants the belief that the worship had penetrated Attica or the Peloponnesus. Pindar knew it at Thebes,¹¹ but neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles had other than a poetical knowledge of a vague and far-away goddess who was a great Earth-mother, as yet with no definite name.¹² Aristophanes knew her by the name Κυβέλη,¹³ but his words are those of broad ridicule, in the mouth of a character in a foreign wilderness, and do not afford convincing evidence that the cult existed at Athens in his time. It is possible that he had his knowledge of the goddess from Thebes. Euripides likewise affords no evidence that the cult had been introduced at Athens in his time. The comic poets of the middle of the fourth century, however, show a greater familiarity with it, Antiphanes devoting an entire play to the begging priests of the Mother, the *μητραγύρται*.¹⁴

All that can be said as to the date of the introduction of the cult of the Mother into Greece is that it found its way into Thrace early, was known in Boeotia in Pindar's time, and entered Attica near the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B. C. The Emperor Julian relates that a *μητραγύρτης* came to Athens to introduce the orgies of the Phrygian Mother, but that he was thrown into the barathron by the angry citizens. A plague having followed, they consulted the Delphic oracle, and were told to build the goddess a temple. This edifice was called the

¹⁰ Comparetti l. c.

¹¹ Pindar *Frag.* 57 B, 57 C Fennell.

¹² *Suppl.* 901 sqq.; *Phil.* 391.

¹³ *Birds* 875-877.

¹⁴ Meineke *Frag. Com. Gr.* III p. 86; II 801; III 520; Athen. 553 C.

Μητρῶν.¹⁵ The Metroon was a temple of the Great Mother in her Greek rather than in her pure Asiatic character,¹⁶ but it is at least true that the Athenians were not warm supporters of the cult, and Attis especially was never popular among them.¹⁷

That the Greeks tolerated the worship at all was due to the fact that the Asiatic divinity had so much in common with certain of their own gods. First of all, there was already a Mother of the Gods in Greece who possessed all the milder characteristics of the Asiatic goddess,¹⁸ and who was really that goddess in her earliest and simplest form. Aeschylus saw in the foreign deity the goddess Γῆ, and Sophocles also saw her in the poetic guise of all-nourishing Mother Earth.¹⁹ Julian identified her with Demeter and Rhea.²⁰ She searched for Persephone in the Kybela Mountains.²¹ She and Attis were like Selene and Endymion, Aphrodite and Adonis.²² In its rites, her cult bore a resemblance to that of Dionysus, itself of Thracian-Phrygian origin. The cymbals, the tympanum, and the flute, the ecstatic dance of a train of men and women, and the coursing over the mountains were features common to both cults. The chorus of Bacchantes in Euripides comes from Tmolus in Asia Minor and celebrates the orgies of the Great Mother Cybele as well as those of Dionysus. The latter is said to have been healed of madness by the Mother in Phrygia, initiated into her mysteries, and equipped for his travels.²³

But the most striking resemblance is that between the

¹⁵ *Or.* V 159; cf. schol. to Aristoph. *Plut.* 431.

¹⁶ C. Curtius l. c.

¹⁷ Cf. Chap. V p. .

¹⁸ Roscher's *Lex.* II 1, 1661.

¹⁹ L. c.

²⁰ *Or.* V 159.

²¹ Eurip. *Hel.* 1301 sqq.; Orph. *Arg.* 22.

²² Theocr. l. c.

²³ Roscher's *Lex.* II 1, 1659.

Asiatic Great Mother and the Greek Great Mother and Rhea. The Greek Mother seems to have been only a milder form of the Asiatic Mother, and is in reality the latter without Attis and the eunuch priesthood. Her character is to be explained by the supposition that she is the deity whom the Phrygians adopted after their invasion of Asia Minor and communicated to the European Phrygians before Semitic influence had modified her worship. Under this supposition the presence of the Metroon in Athens and the representation of the goddess and her lions on the frieze of the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi toward the end of the sixth century is easily understood.

Rapp understands Pausanias to distinguish the Greek Great Mother, the Asiatic Great Mother, and Rhea by referring to the first always as *μήτηρ θεῶν* or *μεγάλη μήτηρ*, to the second as *Διωνύμη* or as connected with Attis, and to the third as associated with Kronos, Zeus, or Poseidon.²⁴ While this rule may be true as regards the Greek Mother and the Asiatic Mother, its truth is to be doubted when applied to the Asiatic Mother and Rhea. In VIII 10, 1 Pausanias speaks of a mountain in Arcadia — *τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον, διὰ τὴν ἄλην, ὣς φασι, καλούμενον τὴν Ῥέας* — called Alesion after the wandering of Rhea. This is surely the Asiatic goddess, though there is no mention of Attis or of the epithet *Διωνύμη*, for her wanderings play a conspicuous part in the legend of Diodorus and are one cause of her confusion with Demeter. The rule, therefore, will not hold; and especially when due consideration is taken of the complete identification which Greek and Latin writers of all periods make, it seems impossible that Pausanias had in mind two entirely distinct divinities. Euripides is the first to use the name Rhea to denote the Mother, and after his time it is common.²⁵ The Mother and Rhea seem to be absolutely identical in Nicander, Apollodorus, Theocritus, Aratus,

²⁴ Roscher's Lex. II 1, 1660.

²⁵ *Bacch.* 59-81.

the Palatine Anthology, Philostratus, Lucian, and the lexicographers. It was rather two conceptions of the same deity which Pausanias had. Rhea had been to the Greeks originally only the mother of Zeus and the consort of Kronos, and the Curetes in her worship, with their clashing instruments, represented the attendants who had saved the life of the infant Zeus by the din of spear and shield. When the Asiatic Mother became known to the Greeks, they recognized in her worship many similarities to that of Rhea, and soon saw in her Rhea herself, who had left Crete to escape the persecution of Kronos and taken up her abode in the mountain wilds of Asia Minor.²⁶ She was known as Rhea or Cybele according to association. No one would think of coupling the names of Kronos and Cybele or Kronos and the Dindymenian Mother, for Homeric usage had coupled the names of Kronos and Rhea for all time; and on the other hand it was natural to use some Asiatic designation of the Mother when she was mentioned in connection with Attis. Temples to the deity in both forms no doubt existed at first, and their rites probably differed, but at most the difference was not greater than that between two sects of the same worship. By the second century B. C. the difference between the two was so little that their names were interchanged. Roman rule, with its tendency to bring about uniformity in all its dominions, made the differences still less apparent, and from that time Rhea, the Asiatic Mother, and the Greek Mother seem to have been identified.

²⁶ Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griech. Sprache* p. 194: Entweder ist Rhea eine griechische Göttin und ihre Wesenähnlichkeit mit der Cybele beruht auf Zufall, oder sie entstammt einer den kleinasiatischen Völkern verwandten Urbevölkerung Kretas.

III.

THE GREAT MOTHER AT ROME UNDER THE REPUBLIC.

In all probability because the Romans lacked time and means, while under the stress of war, to construct an abode worthy to receive the Mother of the Gods, they were unable to offer the goddess a habitation of her own on her arrival in the Eternal City. But the event was celebrated with ceremonies which were no uncertain sign of the favor of her new subjects. A member of the most distinguished family of Rome had been delegated to receive her in behalf of the State; the day was a holiday, marked by a *lectisternium*, and a jubilant and devoted populace thronged to bear her gifts; games were instituted which received the designation *Megalensia*, from *μεγάλη*, an epithet of the goddess;²⁷ and *sodalitates* were organized as auxiliaries of the new cult, of one of which Marcus Porcius Cato was a member.²⁸

In default of a temple consecrated to her own worship, the Great Mother was received as a guest in the temple of Victory on the western slope of the Palatine—an abode well chosen for a goddess whose intercession was to drive the Carthaginian from Italy, and in a location the best the Romans could offer as a substitute for the beloved mountain heights to which she had been accustomed. The same year, in obedience to a decree of the Senate, the censors Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius contracted for the build-

²⁷ Cic. *De Harusp. Resp.* 12, 24, cf. *Fast. Praen.* Apr. 4; but Varro *L. L.* VI 15 derives the word from *Megalesion*, the temple of the Mother at Pergamum.

²⁸ Cic. *De Senec.* 13, 45.

ing of a temple. It was completed in 191 B. C., the ceremony of dedication being performed by Marcus Junius Brutus on the 10th of April, thirteen years and six days after the arrival of the Mother in Rome. The site of the temple was on the summit of the Palatine, not far from the temple of Victory, its front overlooking the valley of the Circus Maximus and its side the Velabrum.²⁹ It was probably at this time that the original one day of the *Megalensia* was lengthened to seven, beginning with the 4th of April, the anniversary of the arrival, and ending with the 10th, the day of the dedication.³⁰

Direct evidence bearing on the progress of the cult under the Republic is almost entirely lacking, and were there no notices dating later than the time of Cicero, it would hardly be possible to form an intelligent conjecture as to its career. The comic poets naturally afford nothing of importance on the subject, for the reason that their works are scarcely more than translations. Had the comedies of Plautus been less entirely Greek, it might be expected that some stray phrase would have crept in to throw light upon the worship of the Mother. The Eunuchus, Heauton Timorumenos, Phormio, and Hecyra of Terence were presented during the *Megalensia*, but all are silent concerning the divinity in whose honor they were enacted. Of Afranius is preserved a part of one verse which may or may not refer directly to the Roman cult,³¹ but the literature as well as the art and the inscriptions of the first hundred years of the history of the cult at Rome afford no information as to its growth.

That it thrived, however, is indicated with sufficient certainty by the fact of the completion and dedication of a temple and the prolongation of the period of the games.

²⁹ Huelsen in *Röm. Mitth.* 1895, 25 sqq.

³⁰ The *Pseudolus* of Plautus was probably presented on this occasion. Preller *Röm. Myth.* 448.

³¹ Ribbeck *Frag., Afran.* 213.

Other circumstances also indicate the standing of the cult among the Romans. At the siege of Sestos in 190 B. C., priests of the Great Mother approached the Roman commander and besought him to spare the city.³² The following year, when Gnaeus Manlius was crossing the Sangarius with his army, *Galli* of the Mother came to him predicting victory for the Roman arms.³³ In 111 B. C. the temple on the Palatine was burned, and Metellus rebuilt it.³⁴ Valerius Maximus says that many commanders vowed pilgrimages to Pessinus, and Marius is said to have undertaken one.³⁵ Early in the first century B. C., in spite of the law forbidding it, a Roman citizen became a eunuch and devoted himself to the priesthood of the Mother.³⁶ She begins to figure on coins about 83 B. C.³⁷ In the last days of the Republic her image on the Palatine showed the divine displeasure by turning around on the eve of Pansa's departure for the Mutina campaign.³⁸ In 38 B. C., in accordance with an order of the Sibylline Books, the *Lavatio*, or annual bathing of the goddess, took place in the sea instead of in the Almo.³⁹ Cicero complains of the loss of the original purity of the worship, and speaks of the collection of money by priests as a serious drain on the finances of the people.⁴⁰

There are, however, two especially significant notices regarding the cult in the second century B. C. The custom of giving banquets in remembrance of the introduction of

³² Livy XXXVII 9, 8-10; Polyb. XXI 6.

³³ Polyb. XXI 37.

³⁴ Val. Max. I 8, 11; Ovid *Fast.* IV 348.

³⁵ Val. Max. I 1, 1; Cic. *De Harusp. Resp.* 13, 28.

³⁶ Val. Max. VII 7, 6.

³⁷ Babelon I 526, 19; II 312, 3; 324, 13; cf. note 92 p. 318.

³⁸ Dio Cass. XLVI 33.

³⁹ *Ibid.* XLVIII 43.

⁴⁰ *De Leg.* II 16, 40. *Stipem sustulimus nisi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idaeae Matris excepimus; implet enim superstitione animos et exhaurit domus.*

the Mother, a development of the *sodalitates*, had early become a prominent feature of the annual celebration. They were denominated *mutitationes* because they were mutual, the members of the society acting as hosts each in his turn. Similar *mutitationes* were given during the *Cerealia*, but these were plebeian, while those of the *Megalensia* were patrician.⁴¹ The latter soon became the occasion of prodigality so great as to call for regulation at the hands of the State; and a *senatus consultum* in the consulship of Gaius Fannius and Marcus Valerius Messala, 161 B. C., required those leading men of the State—*principes civitatis*—who should give mutual banquets according to the old custom during the *Megalensia* not to exceed the expenditure, for each banquet, of one hundred and twenty *asses* besides oil, meal, and wine, not to use imported wine, and not to use more than one hundred *librae* of silver.⁴²

The second notice occurs in Diodorus Siculus, and is repeated, in a slightly different form, by Plutarch.⁴³ According to the account of Diodorus, Battaces, a priest of the Great Mother at Pessinus, arrived in Rome during the closing years of the second century, commissioned by the goddess herself, as he said. He was attired in a manner contrary both to the customs and the laws of Rome; he wore a huge golden crown, and his robes, flowered and embroidered in gold, were like those of a king. He was entertained at the public expense, and presented with the gifts usually bestowed upon guests of the State. Having gained an audience before the magistrates and the Senate, he declared that, the statue of the goddess having been pro-

⁴¹ Aul. Gell. XVIII 2, 11.

⁴² *Ibid.* II 24, 2: *Iubentur principes civitatis, qui ludis Megalensibus antico ritu 'mutitarent,' id est mutua inter sese dominia agitant, iurare apud consules verbis conceptis, non amplius in singulas cenas sumptus se esse facturos quam centenos vicenosque aeris prae-ter olus et far et vinum, neque vino alienigena sed patriae usuros, neque argenti in convivio plus pondo quam libras centum inlaturos.*

⁴³ Diod. *Frag.* of XXXVI; Plut. *Mar.* 17.

faned, public expiation must be made. He descended into the Forum, where he harangued the people and endeavored to inspire them with superstitious fears. Evidently his presence was not agreeable to all, for Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people, forbade him to wear the crown, and another tribune, questioning him in public as to the expiation he had directed, elicited responses so fanatical that the crowd, urged on by Pompeius, began to threaten him, whereupon he withdrew in fear to his apartments, giving out that the Mother had been insulted in his person. Shortly afterward, the impious tribune was seized with a burning fever and an attack of quinsy which deprived him of his voice. He died on the third day of his illness, and the people, seeing in his death a manifestation of the wrath of the Mother, passed from the one extreme to the other, gave Battaces leave to wear his magnificent vestments, presented him with rich gifts, and on his departure accompanied him in throngs as far as the city gates.⁴⁴

The regulation of expenditure in the *mutationes* is significant as indicating the tendency of the celebrations in connection with the cult toward luxury. Further, since these banquets were given by patrician devotees—*principes civitatis*—rather than by plebeians, who gave theirs during the *Cerealia*, it is evident that the cult was to some extent under the special patronage of the aristocracy. The story of Battaces confirms this. He gained admission to the Senate and the magistrates; he arrogantly wore his gorgeous robes and immense golden crown in the face of the law and public opinion; and it was only when a tribune of the people, that traditional opponent of the patrician party, interfered that he was compelled to alter his

⁴⁴In Plutarch, Battaces comes to Rome bearing the assurance of the Great Mother that the Romans are to be victorious against the Cimbri and Teutoni. He appears before the people and attempts to address them; but Aulus Pompeius prevents him, calling him an ἀγύρτης and rudely driving him from the rostra.

conduct. For a foreign priest, and that too a Phrygian, with that detested symbol on his head, to seek and gain audience before the Roman Senate, and even to harangue the Roman populace in the Forum, argues a confidence greater than that warranted by the support of a mere superstitious following among the common people. However, the cult was not yet strong enough to be absolutely independent. Battaces came from Pessinus, which was still the headquarters of the religion, on a mission to the Roman branch of the worship, and improved his opportunities by addressing the multitudes in the Forum. But although he was entertained at the public expense, and given, as it were, the freedom of the city, there was a limit beyond which the popular party would not suffer his presumption to carry him. The cult of the Great Mother at the end of the second century B. C., then, was still essentially a foreign cult, though strong and presumably under aristocratic patronage.

As far as the scant evidence of the period of the Republic enables us to determine, the rites and practices of the cult were comparatively faithful imitations of the original Phrygian worship. It was in charge of a Phrygian priest and priestess, who were clad in robes of bright colors, wore images on their breasts, and as they moved in procession, played the flute and beat the tympanum in honor of the Mother.⁴⁵ In Rome, as in Phrygia and Greece, her priests collected money for the support of the cult by begging from house to house during their processions, and Cicero says that this privilege was withheld from all save the priests of the Great Mother because it filled the minds of the people with superstition and exhausted them financially.⁴⁶ In Varro appear the familiar emasculated *Galli*, toss-

⁴⁵ Dionys. II 19. The strains of the flute are called τὰ μητροῦ μέλη.

⁴⁶ *De Leg.* II 16, 40. Ovid attributes the origin of the custom to the collections made for the rebuilding of the temple by Metellus after the fire of 111 B. C., but it was of Phrygian origin.

ing their flying locks in a frenzy to the sound of the tympanum, the din of the cymbals is heard, and possibly the fragments containing mention of the *muliebris stola* and the "purple linen garment shining like the dawn, and the diadem of gold glittering with gems" relate to priests of the Mother.⁴⁷ Lucretius presents the picture of the goddess with her lions, and the *Galli* with their tympana, cymbals, and flutes. She is carried through the streets in triumph, herself and her attendants garlanded with roses, while gifts of silver and bronze are showered upon her.⁴⁸ The horn, with its hoarse, threatening notes, and the javelins, carried as *violenti signa furoris*, are not directly attested as Phrygian, and may be Roman additions. The kettledrum mentioned by Mommsen III 115 is a mistake. Suidas, under the word *τύμπανον*, describes an instrument used by the Indians instead of the *salpinx*, and this was a kettledrum; but nothing of that description is anywhere attested for the worship of the Great Mother at Rome. According to fragments of Varro (Buecheler's *Men. Sat.* 149, 150) there seems to have been a temple service more or less complete. The ordinary offering to the divinity was *moretum*, a compound of various herbs with cheese, a parallel to which is found in the Greek offering *γαλαξία*, a barley porridge in milk.⁴⁹ The *Lavatio*, a bathing of the goddess, was a feature of the annual celebration which was of Phrygian origin.⁵⁰

Not all the features of the Phrygian cult, however, were retained on its introduction at Rome. In the case of such cults as were introduced in consequence of the recommendation of the Sibylline Books, it was the practice of the Roman State to assume official control, rejecting such features as seemed unessential or undesirable, and instituting an annual series of games. Thus while the priesthood of

⁴⁷ *Men. Sat.*, ed. Buecheler, 132, 149, 120, 121.

⁴⁸ II 600 sqq.

⁴⁹ Ovid *Fast.* IV 367 sqq.; *C. I. A.* II 470, 13, cf. Hesych. s. v. *γαλαξία*.

⁵⁰ Ovid *Fast.* IV 337 sqq.

the Mother continued to be Phrygian and the ordinary rites and the manner of support of the cult were essentially the same as those of the parent cult, the annual public festivities were under the control of the praetors, and were instituted and performed *κατὰ τοὺς Περμαίων νόμους*.⁵¹ Under the Republic these annual festivities consisted of sacrifices, the *Lavatio*, and the *Megalensia*. The full Phrygian cycle, as will be shown, was introduced under the Empire.

It has been thought strange that the name Attis does not appear in Roman literature up to the time of Catullus, and does not occur in inscriptions or on coins of the Republic. If the Attis legend had become familiar, certainly if Attis had risen to any prominence in the cult, this silence would be strange. Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum*, a work which might be expected to contain some account of Attis, evidently said nothing of him, for Augustine says Varro avoided a discussion of the subject, though he attributes the fact to Varro's consciousness of the futility of attempting to give a reasonable interpretation of the legend.⁵² Livy, giving a full account of the introduction of the Mother, and Lucretius, giving an extended interpretation of the rites, do not so much as hint at the existence of Attis, and even Ovid, in his mention of the youth, does not speak of him as though he knew him otherwise than in legend. The poem of Catullus is either from a Greek original or inspired by the author's sojourn in Asia Minor among the scenes described, and the Attis sung in its verses is not the Attis of the legend, but merely a type of the priesthood; for the name Attis was a traditional title of priests.⁵³ Lachmann's conjecture of *Attidis* in *frag.* 150 of the *Men. Sat.*, which would indicate the worship of Attis at Rome in

⁵¹ Dionys. II 19.

⁵² *De Civ. Dei* VII 25: *Et Attis ille non est commemoratus nec eius ab isto interpretatio requisita est..... Merito hinc aversatus est Varro noster, neque hoc dicere voluit.*

⁵³ Polyb. XXI 37; *C. I. L.* VI 2183.

the time of the Republic, is a no more probable correction of the manuscript than Riese's conjecture on the same passage.⁵⁴ A coin of uncertain date, struck by one *Cetegus*, perhaps Publius Cornelius Cethegus, who flourished in the early part of the first century B. C., is sometimes brought forward as evidence of the presence of Attis under the Republic. It has on its obverse the head of Dea Roma, and on its reverse a figure astride a he-goat, holding a branch on his right shoulder. On the basis of a legend in Pausanias VII 17, which relates that Attis, having been exposed by his parents, was cared for by a he-goat, Cavedoni,⁵⁵ followed by Mommsen⁵⁶ and Babelon,⁵⁷ identifies the figure as Attis, assigning as a motive for the representation on the coin the commemoration of the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother and Attis in 204 during the consulship of M. Cornelius Cethegus, ancestor of the *Cetegus* of the coin. But the exact date of the coin is unknown, the identity of its striker is not certain, and there is no proof that the legend told by Pausanias was current at Rome as early as the second century B. C. Nor is the figure on the goat beyond doubt Phrygian, for the headdress, the only means of identification, is described by Cavedoni as a *galea* which at its upper extremity resembles the Phrygian *pilleus*, and by Mommsen as a Phrygian cap, or a helmet which resembles one. Add to this that the representation of a nude figure astride a galloping he-goat has little in it to call to

⁵⁴ *Qui dum esse na hora nam adlatam imponeret aedilia signo si-ae (sie W) et deam gallantes vario retinebant studio HLW.*

Qui dum messem hornam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo Cybelle, deam gallantes vario recinebant strepitu. Riese.

Qui dum messem hornam adlatam imponunt Attidis signo synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio. Lachmann.

Qui cum e scaena coronam adlatam imponeret aedilis signo, synodiam gallantes vario recinebant studio. Buecheler.

⁵⁵ Cavedoni *Bull. dell' Ist. Arch.* 1844 p. 22.

⁵⁶ *Münzwesen* n. 136.

⁵⁷ I 395 n. 18.

mind the legend of the infant Attis. As an allusion to the introduction of the cult of the Great Mother, the ambiguous portrayal of one detail in a legend of her favorite would be far from felicitous. Less than the head of the deity herself, which actually does occur on the first coin which bears a clear allusion to her, or at least a representation of Attis with unmistakable attributes, could hardly be expected. The most that can be admitted is that if the figure does represent a Phrygian, it is meant merely to suggest Phrygia, the original home of the Great Mother, and is a general, not a specific allusion.

To say nothing further of Attis' absence from the literature, inscriptions, and art of the Republic, proof of a more positive nature that he was not worshiped in that period as he was under the Empire is found in Dionysius Halicarnassus (*circa* 30 B. C.), who, in a passage in which he speaks at length of religion at Rome and especially of the cult of the Great Mother, says that among the Romans there are no festivals of public mourning with wearing of black robes, beating of breasts, and lamentation of women for gods who have disappeared.⁵⁸ Now a festival of this character, in which Attis was mourned, did form, under the Empire, one of the principal events of the annual celebration, and the fact that it did not exist at the end of the Republic can only mean that Attis was not yet worshiped at Rome, for a festival in his honor, as in the case of Adonis, was always a festival of lamentation. The *Fusti Praenestini*, 3-9 A. D., corroborate the testimony of Dionysius.⁵⁹ What positive evidence we possess, therefore, goes to show that Attis was known at Rome under the Republic at the most only in a legendary way.⁶⁰ Varro did not discuss Attis simply because

⁵⁸ II 19.

⁵⁹ *C. I. L.* I p. 235.

⁶⁰ For a detailed treatment of the question see the author's article on "Was Attis at Rome under the Republic?" in *Transactions Am. Phil. Ass'n* for 1900, pp. 46-59.

there was no Attis to discuss. This is the more reasonable in view of the conclusion that the Attis worship was not originally native to Phrygia, but was a derivation from the Aphrodite-Adonis worship from the South, and of comparatively late development.⁶¹

It has been stated above that the cult of the Great Mother continued to be essentially foreign. The principal cause of this was, of course, the wide difference between oriental and Roman character, which led the Romans, who saw that the influence of the customs of the cult, if allowed to go unrestrained, would be prejudicial to the State, to enact laws to control it. However heartily they supported the cult, there were certain features of it which they could not endure with patience. To say nothing of the enthusiastic nature of the Great Mother's worship, which made it a *superstitio* in the eyes of the devotees of the purely formal old-Roman religion, the extravagance in the ceremonies and the manner of qualification of the eunuch priests presented cause for objection still more grave. It was therefore from an early period forbidden Roman citizens to engage in the service of the Mother as *μητραγύραι* or as flute-players, or to dress fantastically and take part in the orgies according to the Phrygian manner.⁶² A slave of Quintus Servilius Caepio, in 102 B. C., consecrated himself to the service of the goddess by the act of self-emasculation, and was transported for life.⁶³ The ensuing year, a certain Genucius, who had likewise entered the service of the Mother, was refused a hearing before the consul Mamercus on the ground that he could be considered neither man nor woman. Genucius is the first Roman citizen known to have become a eunuch priest.⁶⁴ The restrictions on the *mutitationes* have already been noted.

⁶¹ Cf. pp. 247 sq.

⁶² Dionys. II 19.

⁶³ Obsequens 44 (104).

⁶⁴ Val. Max. VII 7, 6.

But the cult thrived, both under the Republic and under the Empire. And here a few words in answer to the question which persistently presents itself, viz.: what could have made possible, among a people whom we have been taught to regard, especially in their early history, as distinguished by seriousness and practical wisdom, and whose character is so often described by the word *gravitas*, the introduction and the generous support of a religion whose nature was so widely different from that of the native Roman religion?

The causes which led to the utterance of the inspired Books were very plain and ordinary. The elaborate ceremony of reception, in which a Scipio and a Claudia figured, representing two great patrician families, and the patronage in general of the patrician class, together with the fact that Publius Cornelius Scipio's desire to head an expedition to Africa seems to have been granted him as a consequence of the prophecy, suggest a political cause. The more probable explanation, however, is to be found in the ambition of the ministers and devotees of the cult itself. Enough of religious zeal the priests of the Mother certainly possessed, but interests of a material nature also played a prominent part. The rich Italian peninsula had afforded homes to one after another of the decaying cults of Greece and Asia Minor, and offered a rich reward to yet other cults which should come. *Dignus Roma locus quo deus omnis eat* was especially true from the point of view of prosperity, and the *ipsa peti volui* of the goddess was no doubt literally true.⁶⁵

Further, when the Sibylline Books recommended the introduction of the Great Mother of the Gods the Roman people had for thirteen years been in deadly grapple with a powerful enemy who had harrassed them under their very walls, and although he had been checked, he was still on their soil, drawing his supplies from their fields. It was when they were galled and jaded, uncertain as to the fu-

⁶⁵ Ovid *Fast.* IV 269, 270.

ture, ready to see in every natural phenomenon an omen and in every oracular utterance an expression of the divine will, that the Books prescribed the remedy for the national evil. Even had the Romans been fully aware of the nature of the religion they were about to allow entrance into the State, they would nevertheless have accepted it. This was not the first time the Books had spoken with authority and been implicitly obeyed. The readiness with which Greek divinities had been received and identified with old-Roman divinities has been noted above; a numerous circle of gods and goddesses owed their introduction at Rome to the Books. Among them was Aesculapius, who had caused the plague to cease on his arrival in 291, and in the more severe affliction of the last twenty years of the same century it was only natural that the oracle of 293 should have great influence.

Another cause for the readiness with which the cult of the Mother was received is found in the fact that in her character of Earth-mother she was not unlike divinities already honored at Rome. Among these may be mentioned Ceres. That the Mother was to her worshipers first of all a nature-divinity is indicated by the character of the ordinary offering to her, the *moretum*. To a people living in the center of a fertile *campagna* with its luxuriance of vegetation, and surrounded by hills clad with olive, fruit, and vine, the advent of a benign goddess of nature with promises of peace and plenty would naturally be hailed with joy. Still greater was the resemblance of the Mother to Maia and Ops, with whom, indeed, she became identified.⁶⁶ Add to this her identification with Rhea, the wife of Saturn and the mother of Jupiter, and the Romans considered themselves performing an act of justice in welcoming the goddess to her right. As Augustine humorously says: *Mater etiam Deum nescio unde a Pessinunte; indignum erat enim*

⁶⁶ Macrob. I 12, 20: (*Maia*) *et Mater Magna in sacris vocatur; cf. ibid.* 21, where Maia equals Ops.

*ut, cum eius filius iam colli Capitolino praesideret, adhuc ipsa in loco ignobili latitaret.*⁶⁷ In this identification of the Mother with divinities already known at Rome, and in her supposed Trojan origin and connection with the founders of the Roman nation, is to be sought the explanation of the fact that her temple was erected inside the *pomerium*.⁶⁸

Once introduced, fortune favored the goddess. In the very year in which she first saw Rome, the effect of her benign presence was such that the produce of the fields exceeded that of any year of the preceding ten.⁶⁹ Still more important for her was the fact that the war was carried into Africa. Hannibal was compelled to leave Italy, the struggle between Carthage and Rome was brought to a successful close, and the pledge made by the Sibylline Books in behalf of the Mother was redeemed. The building of her temple went forward, and the cult soon had its own home. On various occasions the deity predicted success to the Roman arms, and her predictions came true.⁷⁰ Vows were made by Roman generals and discharged at Pessinus.⁷¹ The Mother even entered into the politics of the nation to some extent.⁷² What if some of the practices of the cult were scandalizing to the staid Romans of the old style? What if one detail was revolting to every Roman? The ministers of the religion, not the religion itself, were no doubt blamed for that. What with her generous hand in the harvests, her powerful arm against the invader, what with patrician patronage and plebeian superstition, what with an occasional well managed demonstration of the severity of her displeasure against the irreverent; and what indeed with a great deal of real reverence, directed

⁶⁷ *De Civ. Dei* III 12.

⁶⁸ Marq. III 370.

⁶⁹ Plin. *N. H.* XVIII 16.

⁷⁰ Livy XXXVII 9, 8-10; Polyb. XXI 6.

⁷¹ Val. Max. I 1, 1.

⁷² Dio Cass. XLVI 33; XLVIII 43.

to her as a chaste goddess, the Mother of all being, it is not difficult to understand how the Great Mother won and kept her place among the Romans.

IV.

THE CULT OF THE GREAT MOTHER UNDER THE EMPIRE.

Under the Empire the cult of the Great Mother rapidly rose to a high degree of prominence. Lucretius, Catullus, and Cicero reflect the interest already felt in it in the last year of the Republic, and there are few authors of the early Empire who do not allude to it with more or less fullness. The beautiful account of Livy has been noticed; Vergil's account of the Mother's protection of Aeneas' ships is no less charming;⁷³ Horace mentions her rites by way of illustration;⁷⁴ Propertius recites the story of Claudia;⁷⁵ Hyginus explains the origin of the use of the cymbals and the tympanum;⁷⁶ Phaedrus gives the fable of the Ass and the *Galli*;⁷⁷ and that Maecenas, who was wont to interest himself in all that was attempted in the literary world, wrote a poem in galliambics on Cybele, indicates the interest which was felt in the cult.⁷⁸ But Ovid reflects more fully than any author preceding him the quickening interest. The space in the *Fasti* devoted to the story of the introduction of the cult and the explanation of the origin and significance of its rites would be out of proportion had not the religion of the Mother been among the very first in interest.⁷⁹ However, as under the Republic, the annual celebration consisted of but one day, April 4th, followed

⁷³ *Aen.* IX 77 sqq.

⁷⁴ *C.* I 16, 5; 18, 13; III 19, 18.

⁷⁵ V 11, 51.

⁷⁶ CXXXIX.

⁷⁷ IV 1.

⁷⁸ Baehrens *Frag. Poet. Rom.* Maecenas 4.

⁷⁹ *Fast.* IV 348.

by the *Megalensia*.⁸⁰ Nor is Attis other than merely the Attis of the legend; he does not yet exist at Rome as a divinity side by side with the Mother, sharing her worship.

The fruit of this quickened interest was the introduction of new features into the worship and the elevation of the cult to the acme of prosperity. The way of its progress was made straight by the favor of the Emperors themselves. The temple on the Palatine having been burned in A. D. 3, Augustus rebuilt it.⁸¹ Livia was represented as Cybele on a gem, and coins were struck by Tiberius and Claudius with representations of the Mother.⁸² To Claudius was due the step which established a complete cycle of events for the annual celebration, which henceforth remained the same up to the fall of the worship before Christianity. The complete cycle which had the *Lavatio* for its culmination, was no doubt the Phrygian cycle, now introduced in its fullness. Arrian, at the close of the first century A. D., states that certain features of the annual festival were performed according to the Phrygian custom,⁸³ and Servius also says that the Romans conducted the worship *Phrygio more*.⁸⁴ From this time on Attis was no longer merely legendary, but was honored as a divinity together with the Mother, occupying much the same position as Adonis in the Aphrodite-Adonis cult in the East. And not only was the original one day of the festival extended to a longer period, but the date was changed. The first day of the celebration was March 15th, and the remaining five events of the cycle occurred at intervals up to the 27th,

⁸⁰ *Fast. Praen. and Maff.*, Apr. 4-10.

⁸¹ Val. Max. I 8, 11; Ovid *Fast.* IV 318; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* IV 8.

⁸² Imhoof 229 no. 759 tab. 13 no. 13; Mionnet VII 555, 318. Tiberius kept in his sleeping chamber the portrait of an *Archigallus* by Parrhasius of which he was especially fond and which he valued at 6,000,000 sesterces. Plin. *N. H.* XXXV 70.

⁸³ *Tact.* 33, 4.

⁸⁴ *Ad Aen.* XII 836. Tradition attributed the founding of the annual festival to Agdistis in Pessinus. Arn. V. 7.

when the *Lavatio* ended the series. The *Megalensia*, however, continued to be celebrated April 5th-10th. The *Fasti Philocali*, dating from 354 A. D., give the days of the cycle in order, and Lydus is authority for the introduction of the new features by Claudius.⁸⁵

It is possible under the Empire to speak with greater definiteness of the government, ceremonial, and progress of the cult. By the first century A. D. it was one of the most popular and most favored of foreign religions. It had been forbidden Roman citizens to take part in the worship according to the Phrygian rites, but as has been seen, a Roman consecrated himself to the service of the Mother as early as 101 B. C., and by the time of the Empire the restrictions which had been placed upon the early cult had become obsolete or had been removed. The *quindecimviri*, in company with many other leading citizens, formed part of the procession on the great day of the annual celebration;⁸⁶ altars were dedicated to the Mother as votive offerings in behalf of the safety of the Emperors, the donors being persons of good family;⁸⁷ names of men and women apparently of good standing in Roman society appear among the names of the ministry and followers of the cult especially after the second century;⁸⁸ even the *Archigallus* bore a Roman name under the Empire,⁸⁹ and his title *Attis populi Romani*, *Atus publicus populi Romani Quiritium* indicates the heartiness with which the State sanctioned the worship.⁹⁰ Like other foreign cults, the cult of the Great Mother was under the control of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, which body at least had power to appoint and equip priests

⁸⁵ *De Mens.* IV 41; τὴν δὲ ἑορτὴν Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο.

⁸⁶ *Prud. Peristeph.* X 153 sqq.; *Lucan* I 599.

⁸⁷ *C. I. L.* XIII 1751.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* VI 494, 497-9, 2183, 2257.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 2183; XIV 34, 35, 385.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* VI 2183, 511.

in all parts of Italy, whether they always exercised it directly or not.⁹¹ Those directly appointed and equipped with insignia by them were called *sacerdotes quindecimvires*.⁹² The colleges of the *dendrophori* were also under their control.⁹³ The *quindecimviri* participated officially in the annual celebration. The *stips*, or collection from house to house, continued to be the source of support.⁹⁴

At the head of the ministry stood the *Archigallus*, or high priest. A relief of an *Archigallus*, found between Lanuvium and Genzano and now in the Capitoline Museum, shows



A Priest of the Great Mother. Relief in the Capitoline Museum, [After Baumeister.]

a man of effeminate features, dressed in a long-sleeved garment. The hair is arranged like that of a woman, there are pendants in the ears, and a veil hangs from the head to the shoulders on either side. Over the veil is a garland or

⁹¹ *C. I. L.* X 3698; XIII 1751.

⁹² *Ibid.* IX 981, 1538; X 4726.

⁹³ *Ibid.* X 3699.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* XII 4321.

crown with three medallions, the middle one, over the forehead, containing a bust of Idaean Zeus, those at the sides, over the ears, busts of Attis. From under the veil, on either side, double string-like fillets descend over the breast and body. A band with a clasp formed by two serpent heads joined by a ring is worn as a necklace, and beneath on the breast hangs a shrine-like frame with a bust of Attis. On the left shoulder is a scourge, the carved handle ending at either extremity in a bearded head, and the three thongs being provided at close intervals with rough pieces of bone to make the instrument more effective. In the left hand is a shell-like dish containing a pine cone and what seems to be almonds, both of which were of significance in the rites of the religion. In the right hand, which is held upright at the side, is an object whose nature is not certain, the upper extremity of which resembles a pomegranate. From this part rise three slender twigs. Other objects represented are the cymbals, the tympanum, the straight and the curved flutes, and a cylindrical *cista* with a conical top. The effeminate appearance of the priest is the most striking feature of the representation. Inscriptions attest *Archigalli* at Rome, Ostia, Capua, Capodistria, Emerita, Iader in Dalmatia, Tournay, Lugdunum, and Portus.⁹⁵ At Rome he is also called *Attis populi Romani* and *Atus publicus populi Romani Quiritium*.⁹⁶ His name is Roman, although he is inscribed once as *Sac. Phryg. Max.*⁹⁷ Sacrifices are made *ex vaticinatione Archigalli*.⁹⁸ He seems to have been in charge of the most important branches of the cult, such as those at Rome and Ostia, or of districts.

Corresponding to the *Archigallus*, but apparently rarer,

⁹⁵ *C. I. L.* VI 2183; XIV 34, 35, 385; X 3310; V 483; II *Supp.* 5200; III 2920a; XII 1782 and XIII 1752; *Frag. Vat.* §148.

⁹⁶ *C. I. L.* VI 511, 2183.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 508.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* VIII 8203; XIII 1752.

was the *Sacerdos Maxima*, who is mentioned in two inscriptions, both of which are Roman.⁹⁹ One is on an altar dating from 383 A. D., while the other is on the base of a relief in the Vatican which was a votive offering. In a niche formed by a shell is the half-figure of a priestess who is in the act of pouring a libation from a patera in her right hand upon a small round altar on the base of which is an eagle in relief. In her left hand she holds a garland of oak leaves. Her head is veiled, the ends of the veil descending over either shoulder, and fillets, changed by a modern sculptor into braids of hair, formerly hung from either side under the veil.¹⁰⁰ The figure is fully draped, and on the breast is a bust of Idaean Zeus. The inscription reads: *Laberia Felicia Sacerdos Maxima Matris Deum M. I.*

The ministers of ordinary rank were sometimes men, sometimes women, the former being the castrated *Galli*. Their garb was similar to that of the high priest and high priestess—garments of various bright colors, necklaces, images, etc.¹ The *occulus*, defined by Hesychius as τὰ περὶ τὸν βραχίονα ψέλλια, and the *corona*, a golden crown with medallions, were sometimes presented by the *quindecimviri*.² There were *sacerdotes primi*³ and *sacerdotes secundo loco*⁴ and *consacerdotes*.⁵ A priest at Ostia was minister of both the Great Mother and Isis, and one at Brundisium of these two and Dea Syria.⁶ There is little evidence as to the period of service. A priest at Lugdunum has *perpetuitatem sacerdotii* bestowed upon him by decree of the *ordo Lugdunensis*.⁷

Among the official servants of the Mother were the *tibi-*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* VI 502, 2257.

¹⁰⁰ Visconti *Museo Pio-Clem.* VII p. 104.

¹ Dionys. Hal. II 19; Ovid *Fast.* IV 339.

² *C. I. L.* X 3698; XIII 1751.

³ *Ibid.* IX 1541.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1538, 1541.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1540.

⁶ *Ibid.* XIV 429; IX 6099.

⁷ *Ibid.* XIII 1751.



A PRIESTESS OF THE GREAT MOTHER.

From a Relief in the Vatican. (After Baumeister.)

cen, *tympanistria*, and the *cymbalistria*, whose titles are self-explanatory. The name of the *tibicen* Flavius Restitutus, of Lugdunum, is recorded side by side with that of the officiating priest in the memorial of a *taurobolium*, and that of the *cymbalistria* Secunda, of Tergeste, is likewise inscribed with that of the priest of the cult.⁸ The name of the *aedituus* Gaius Publicius Hermes is also found in the Tergeste inscription. Gnaeus Pompeius Probus, a *curator templi*, dedicates an altar to the Mother.⁹ The titles *aedituus* and *curator templi* denote the same office.¹⁰ Flavia Tyche, in Olisipo, Lusitania, is a *cernophora*, or bearer of the sacrificial vessel, the *κέρυς*.¹¹ The office of *apparator* is twice mentioned.¹² Quintus Nunnius Telephus was a *magister collegii cultorum* at Rome.¹³ Finally, an inscription records the name of Tiberius Claudius Velox, *hymnologus primus Matris Deum Idaeae et Attinis publicus*, whose duty was the composition of the Greek hymns sung in the service of the Mother.¹⁴

Besides single individuals officially connected with the cult were the *collegia* of the *cannophori* and the *dendrophori*. Both were bodies whose object was to further the prosperity of the cult, and both were prominent in the annual festival, the former on March 15th, and the latter on March 22d. The former consisted of men at Ostia, *corpus canno-phorum Ostiensium*, at Locri, *collegium cannofororum*, and at Mediolanium, *collegium cannoforum*; but the college was sometimes formed of women, as at Saepinum, *collegium cannoforarum*.¹⁵ The designation is to be derived from *κάννα* or *κάννη*, *canna*, a reed, defined by Columella as a plant small-

⁸ *Ibid.* XII 1782 and XIII 1752; V 519; VI 2264.

⁹ *C. I. L.* XII 5374.

¹⁰ Marq. III 214.

¹¹ *C. I. L.* II 179; Athen. XI 476.

¹² *C. I. L.* XIII 1754; XIV 53.

¹³ *Ibid.* VI 494.

¹⁴ *Bull. dell' Ist.* 1884 p. 154.

¹⁵ *C. I. L.* XIV 34-37, 40, 116-119, 284, 285; X 24; V 5840; IX 2480.

er than the *arundo*, but larger than the *calamus*.¹⁶ That they were reed-bearers, as the *dendrophori* were tree- or branch-bearers, is highly probable.¹⁷ In one of the colleges at Ostia there seem to have been an official *pater* and *mater*.¹⁸ In connection with the Metroon in the same city, the *cannophori* had a *schola*,¹⁹ and were the recipients of complimentary gifts, usually images of the Mother or of Attis, at the hands of the *Archigallus* or patrons of the cult.²⁰ Of the *collegia dendrophorum* attested by inscriptions, only a part were connected with the cult of the Great Mother, others belonging to the worship of other divinities, and still others being merely societies of workmen with no religious significance. Those in the service of the Mother at Cumae, and presumably throughout Italy, were under the control of the *quindecimviri*.²¹ They officiated in the annual celebration, their part being the bearing of the sacred pine to the temple on the Palatine.²² They had a *schola* in connection with the Metroon at Ostia, and fragments of an inscription giving the roll of membership contain the names of many prominent citizens.²³ There was an *archidendrophorus* in Mysia, but the title occurs only the one time.²⁴ The *sodales ballatores*, once mentioned, were perhaps the *Galli*.²⁵

The annual festival at Rome as completed in the reign of Claudius began with the return of spring. The first day was the Ides of March, and is designated in the *Fasti Philocali* as *canna intrat*. The ceremony of the day consisted in

¹⁶ Col. VII 9, 7; IV 32, 3.

¹⁷ Visconti *Annales* 1869 p. 242 sq.

¹⁸ *C. I. L.* XIV 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 285.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 34-37, 119.

²¹ *Ibid.* X 3699.

²² Lyd. *De Mens.* IV 41.

²³ *C. I. L.* XIV 45; 231-233.

²⁴ *Ibid.* III 763.

²⁵ *Ibid.* VI 2265.

the sacrificing of a six-year-old bull in behalf of the fields in the mountains, the high priest, a priestess, and the college of the *cannophori* officiating.²⁶ The significance of the *cannophori* is indicated by a relief on a marble found in the Metroon at Ostia. It is cut in the shape of a *cista*, and shows Attis concealing himself in a growth of reeds, while the lions of the Mother and a shepherd's pipe are represented near by. One form of the legend relates that Attis as a child was exposed by the reedy banks of the Gallus and that Cybele found him there. The *cannophori*, then, bear reeds in commemoration of that event, and the ceremony is probably only the weak reflection of an orgiastic ceremony of the Phrygian priests on the banks of the river Gallus.²⁷ The second day of the festival was the 22d of March, designated in the *Fusti Philocali* as *arbor intrat*. On this day the sacred pine, the emblem of Attis' self-punishment, was borne by the *dendrophori* to the temple on the Palatine,²⁸ its trunk wound with fillets of wool and its branches hung with garlands of violets to commemorate the wrapping of Attis' body in wool by Ia and the decking of the original tree by the Mother with the violets which sprang from his blood.²⁹

After an interval of one day, the celebration continued on March 24th with the *Dies sanguinis*³⁰ or *Sanguem*,³¹ a day of mourning and fasting.³² As the preceding day of the celebration had seen the bearing of the sacred pine, representing the tree under which Attis died, into the temple,

²⁶ Lyd. *De Mens.* IV 36: *Εἰδοὺς Μαρτίαις.....ἱεράτευον δὲ καὶ ταῦρον ἐξέτη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀγρῶν, ἡγομένου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν κανηφόρων τῆς Μητροῦς.*

²⁷ De Ruggiero *Diz. Epig.* s. v. *cannophorus*; Jul. *Or.* V 165 sq.

²⁸ Lyd. *De Mens.* IV 41: *Τῇ πρὸ δεκαμῖτς Καλενδῶν Ἀπριλίων δένδρον πίτυς παρὰ τῶν δειδροφόρων ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ.*

²⁹ Arnob. V 7, 16.

³⁰ Treb. Poll. *Claudius* IV.

³¹ *Fust. Phil.*

³² Arnob. V 16.

representing the cave into which the Mother bore the original tree, so this day commemorated the grief of the Mother at her loss—the grief of Mother Earth at the death of her vegetation—and her abstinence from food while her sorrow was at its height.³³ Besides the fasting, the special feature of the day was the ceremony of mourning, in which the *Archigallus* and priests, their minds stirred to the climax of religious frenzy by orgiastic dance and song, aided by fasting, lacerated their arms in commemoration of the final deed of Attis. The orgiastic nature of the ceremony was especially prominent. According to Martial, *saevis lacerantur brachia cultris, Cum furit ad Phrygios enthea turba modos*.³⁴ The priests of Dea Syria, whose cult so closely resembled that of the Mother, are thus described: *absonis ululatus constrepentes fanaticæ pervolant diuque capite demisso cervicibus lubricis intorquentes motibus crinesque pendulos in circulum rotantes et non nunquam morsibus suos incurstantes musculos ad postremum ancipiti ferro quod gerebant sua quisque brachia dissicant. Inter hæc unus ex illis bacchatur effusius ac de imis præcordiis anhelitus crebros referens velut numinis divino spiritu repletus simulabat sauciam vaecordiam*, etc.³⁵ It was while at the height of religious frenzy that Phrygian priests in their own country lacerated, and even emasculated themselves, and the Roman ceremony is only an imitation of it. The emasculation of priests by their own hands, however, is not attested as taking place in the Roman cult, though the *Dies sanguinis* was the day on which the *Galli* suffered the final act of consecration and became ministers of the cult.³⁶

The next day, March 25th, was the first day in which daylight exceeded darkness, and was fittingly observed as

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ XI 84, 3.

³⁵ Apuleius *Metam.* VII 27, cf. Arnob. I. c.: *pectoribus adplodentes palmas passis cum crinibus Galli*.

³⁶ Jul. Or. V 168 C, D.

the day of rejoicing, *Hilaria*. *Simulatione luctus peracta*, says Macrobius, *celebratur laetitiae exordium a. d. octavum Kalendas Aprilis. Quem diem Hilaria appellant, quo primum tempore sol diem longiorem nocte protendit.*³⁷ The day was one of the great *festas* of Rome.³⁸ *Hilaria* in general are described as days of especial gladness, celebrated by all the people in common, as when a king has proclaimed a public holiday. The wearing of mourning was not permitted; all laid it aside, attended the spectacles and sacrifices which were always the order of the day, and passed the time in unbroken good cheer.³⁹

The day following the *Hilaria* is designated in the *Fusti Philocali* as *Requietio*. Apparently there were no public ceremonies, but the day was given up to rest and quiet.

The next day, March 27th, the last of the celebration, was the occasion of the crowning ceremony of the cycle. It is known in the *Fasti* as *Lavatio*, and was the ceremony of longest standing in the Roman cult, having been a feature of the Asiatic cult⁴⁰ and probably brought to Rome with the goddess herself. On this day the image of the Mother, in a procession at the head of which were the *quindecimviri*,⁴¹ was conducted to the Almo, a small stream a short distance south of the Palatine outside the present Porta San Sebastiano, where the image and the sacred utensils were laved. Prudentius describes the procession in the last years of Paganism. The meteoric stone which represented the Mother, set in a statue of silver, was borne in a chariot before which walked, barefooted, the leading citizens.⁴² The strewing of flowers, the garlanding of the goddess and her attendants, the burning of incense, the abundance of gifts, the presence of gorgeously robed

³⁷ *Sat.* I 21, 10.

³⁸ Vopisc. *Aurel.* I; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* XXXVII 6.

³⁹ *Scholia Maximi* p. 319.

⁴⁰ Marq. *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet* 100; *C. I. G.* 3657.

⁴¹ Lucan I 599 sq.

⁴² *Perist.* X 154 sqq.

priests and priestesses with their orgiastic instruments—features characteristic of the processions in the worship of the goddess⁴³—doubtless marked this procession also. Everything that wealth or art could supply was used on the occasion, says Herodian.⁴⁴ At the conclusion of the ceremony at the stream, the Mother herself ceased to mourn, and her whole train and all the city gave themselves up to merrymaking.⁴⁵ Scenic representations formed a prominent part of the festivities, at least in the last century of Paganism. Arnobius, inveighing against the games celebrated in connection with the Pagan worship, alludes to scenic representations of the Mother and Attis, especially the latter, as though they were extremely common—*Attis ille....quem in spectaculis ludicis theatra universa noverunt. —Illa Pessinuntia Dindymene in bubulci unius amplexum flagitiosa fingitur adpetitione gestire.—Lenior Mater Magna efficitur, si Attidis conspexerit priscam refricari ab histrionibus fabulam?*⁴⁶

Another rite of great importance, not, however, always a part of the annual festival, was the *taurobolium*, the sacrifice of a bull, or its variation the *criobolium*, the sacrifice of a ram.⁴⁷ The rise of the ceremony dates from the early part of the second century A. D., as the first evidence of its existence is an inscription of the reign of Hadrian, in the year 133, found at Naples.⁴⁸ There is no mention of the sacrifice of bulls in the service of the Mother, nor is the elaborate ceremony of the *taurobolium* attested as being performed in Phrygia or Greece before this date. The fact, then, that the first known occurrence of the rite was in Italy and that it is next heard of in Gaul, and is not attested

⁴³ Luc. II 600 sqq.; Ovid *Fast.* IV 339 sqq.; Livy XXIX 14.

⁴⁴ I 10, 5.

⁴⁵ Stat. *Silv.* V 1, 223; Val. Flac. *Arg.* VIII 239.

⁴⁶ *Adv. Nat.* V 42; IV 35; VII 33.

⁴⁷ The *aemobolium*, or blood-sacrifice, once mentioned, *C. I. L.* IX 3015, is probably the *taurobolium* under another name.

⁴⁸ *C. I. L.* X 1596.

for Greece and other provinces until still later, signifies that Rome, even if it did not originate this elaborate form of sacrifice, was at least the place where it rose into prominence, and the center from which it was disseminated. It spread rapidly throughout Italy and to all parts of the Empire, and was one of the most important rites of the cult up to the fall of Paganism. A description of the *taurobolium* as it was performed in the 4th century A. D. is put by Prudentius into the mouth of Romanus the Martyr.⁴⁹ The high priest, his temples richly adorned with fillets, a golden crown on his head, his toga girt *cinctu Gabino*, descends into a deep trench completely covered with a platform of planks pierced by a large number of holes. On this platform is led a huge bull, garlanded with flowers, his front gleaming with gold. His breast is pierced by the consecrated spear, and the torrent of hot, steaming blood floods the covering of the trench and rains through the thousand chinks and perforations on the expectant priest below, who throws back his head the better to present his cheeks, his ears, lips, nostrils—nay, even his tongue and palate—to the purifying bath. When life has fled and left cold the body of the slain bullock and the flammens have removed it, the priest emerges, and with beard, hair, and vestments dripping with blood, presents himself to the expectant throng of worshipers, who salute and do obeisance to him as to one who has been purified.

The rite of the *taurobolium* was not performed at fixed dates or at regular intervals. The rank of those who instituted the sacrifice varied, as did also the motive of its institution. Persons of senatorial rank were among those who gave it at Rome.⁵⁰ A *duumvir* at Beneventum gave it on his entrance into office—in *primordio suo*; private individuals sometimes gave it; it was performed in the second century at Carolina, in the *ager Falernus*, by Munatia, who

⁴⁹ *Perist.* X 1006 sqq.

⁵⁰ *C. I. L.* VI 501-505.

had been appointed priestess by the *quindecimviri*; a priestess at Formiae gave it; Lucius Dagidius Marius, *pontifex perpetuus* of Valentia, with his daughters Verullia Martina and Verullia Maria, instituted one; the college of *dendrophori* gave it in the same city, and at Lugdunum; Pompeius Rusonianus, *consul* and *quindecimvir*, gave it at Gabii; and the city of Narbo performed it *publice*, the expense being met *ex stipe conlata*.⁵¹ In performances of the sacrifice by individuals, the expense was borne by the mover, and the fact is often recorded—*de suo, suo sumptu, sua pecunia*.⁵² The motive of the sacrifice was *pro salute imperatoris, pro salute imperii, pro salute et reditu et victoria imperatoris, ex voto, ex vaticinatione Archigalli, iussu ipsius Matris*.⁵³ An altar was erected especially for the occasion, and dedicated in commemoration of the ceremony.⁵⁴ The time occupied by the whole ceremony varied from one to five days,⁵⁵ which indicates either that the separate features of the rite, such as the erection and dedication of the altar, the actual sacrificial ceremony, and the ceremony *vires excipere, condere*, interpreted as the burial of the virile parts of the bull,⁵⁶ took place on different days, or that the whole was performed in connection with a special order of events unknown to us.

The *taurobolium* at Rome was usually performed across the Tiber near a shrine which had been erected where the present church of St. Peter stands.⁵⁷ At Ostia it was probably performed at the Metroon in the area known as the *campus Matris Deum*.⁵⁸ The nature of the ceremony, which

⁵¹ *Ibid.* IX 1540; XII 357; X 4726; X 6075; XII 1567; XII 1744 and XIII 1752; XIV 2790; XII 4321.

⁵² *Ibid.* IX 3014; XII 1, 1744.

⁵³ *Ibid.* XII 1569; II Supp. 5521; XII 1782; XII 4321 and II Supp. 5521.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* VI 501-505; XIV 39.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* XIII 1752-1754; XII 1782; Orelli 2331.

⁵⁶ *C. I. L.* XII 1567; XIII 1751.

⁵⁷ *C. I. L.* VI 497-504.

⁵⁸ Visconti *Annales* 1863 p. 400.

required ample space, explains why it did not take place at Rome before the temple on the Palatine, where the area was not large.

When the rite consisted of the *taurobolium* alone, the altar was usually inscribed to the Mother; when the *criobolium* was performed in conjunction with it, the altar was with rare exceptions inscribed to both the Mother and Attis, the bull being sacrificed to the former and the ram to the latter.⁵⁹ However, the two were so closely allied in the cult that even when the name of Attis was not inscribed and the *criobolium* was not given, his attributes were often represented on the altar, indicating his participation.⁶⁰

The effect of this baptism of blood was purification and renewal of the sanctified life. The senator Volusianus at Rome, 390 A. D., performed the rite for the second time after an interval of twenty years,⁶¹ and a poem in *Codex Parisinus* also gives twenty years as the period of purification.⁶² Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius, a senator, however, on an altar dedicated by him in 376, is *in aeternum renatus*, as is also a devotee of Mithras who performs the rite to that deity in 391.⁶³ The similarity of the phrase and its idea to Christian language and doctrine is startling, and Burckhardt attributes the rise of the rite to a desire of Paganism to provide its devotees with the same eternal life which was promised as a reward to the Christian believ-

⁵⁹ *C. I. L.* XII 4321, 4322, 4325; VI 497-504. *Aemobolium*, IX 3015.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* XII 1569, 1744.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* VI 512, cf. 504.

⁶² *Codex Parisinus* 57-62 in Riese *Anth. Lat.* I 1.

Quis tibi taurobolus vestem mutare suasit
Inflatus dives subito mendicus ut esses?
Obsitus et pannis, modica stipe factus epaeta,
Sub terram missus, pollutus sanguine tauri,
Sordidus, infectus, vestes servare cruentas?
Vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?

⁶³ *C. I. L.* VI 510, 736. The *taurobolium* was not exclusively a rite of the Great Mother.

er. ⁶⁴ But however tempting this explanation may be and however conscious of the Christian idea of purification by the shedding of blood the authors of the *taurobolia* in the fourth century may have been, ⁶⁵ the rite is better explained as belonging purely to the Pagan worship. As it was regularly in honor of both the Mother and Attis, its significance must have had to do with that part of the myth which concerned both, viz.: the death, decay, and resurrection of Attis. The priest descends into the dark pit and leaves the light of earth—Attis dies—the vegetation of the earth withers; the priest is bathed in blood and rises from the pit purified—Attis is restored—the vegetation returns. The other important feature of the ceremony, *vires excipere, condere*, if rightly interpreted to mean the bearing away and burying of the virile parts of the sacrificial animal, was a commemoration of the deed by which Attis died and by which his followers were consecrated. ⁶⁶

Interpretation of the rites of the worship of the Great Mother begins in Roman literature with Lucretius, who, however, gives the views of the *veteres Graium poetae*. Her constant companions, the lions, are the symbols of the great Earth-mother's power over wild nature; her mural crown signifies her support of the cities of the earth; she is called the Idaean Mother and has Phrygian attendants because it was in the part of the world represented by these names that the fruits of the earth first sprang into being; her priests are castrated to signify that no one who has violated the laws imposed upon him by his mother or proven undutiful to his parents is worthy to bring life into the world; the tympanum, the cymbals, the horn, and the pipe serve by their din to arouse the minds of the minis-

⁶⁴ *Das Zeitalter Constantins* ² 223 note 1.

⁶⁵ Firm. Mat. *De Error.* 27, 8 makes a comparison of the *taurobolium* with the shedding of the blood of Christ.

⁶⁶ Schol. to Nicand. *Alex.* 8: τόποι ἱεροὶ ὑπόγειοι.....ἔπου ἐκτεμνόμενοι τὰ μῆδεα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῷ Ἀττεὶ καὶ τῇ Πέᾳ λατρεύοντες.

ters to a frenzy, and the weapons they bear before them symbolize the power of the divine wrath against the wicked and ingrate; the clashing of noisy instruments in the hands of the Mother's attendants is commemorative of the din made by the Curetes at the birth of Zeus, when they so deafened the ears of Kronos with the beating of spears and shields that he could not hear the crying of the infant.⁶⁷ Ovid adds that the origin of the *stips* was in the collection of money for a new temple by Metellus after the fire of 111 B. C., that the *mutitationes* were held *quod bene mutarit sedem Berecynthia*; that the *Galli* were so called from the river Gallus, whose waters inspired frenzy in those who drank of them; and that the *moretum* symbolized the primitive foods which the Mother afforded mankind.⁶⁸

These attempts to account for existing customs and rites however, date from a time when the spirit of interpretation had not yet become keen; and besides, interest in Attis had not yet reached its culmination. The first interpretation of the Cybele-Attis legend worthy of the name dates from the third century A. D., after philosophy had come to the aid of the Pagan religions. Porphyrius, the Neo-Platonist, believed that Attis signified the flowers of the springtime, because the earth in that season is more beautiful than at any other time, and that he was represented as *abscisum* because the flower falls before the fruit. Attis and Adonis are to be understood after the analogy of the fruits. There is the difference, however, that Attis represents those flowers which come out in the springtime and die away before coming to fruition—whence men have attributed to him the cutting away of his virile parts, the fruits not having arrived at the perfection of seeding; while Adonis, on the contrary, is the symbol of the cutting off of ripe fruitage.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ II 600 sqq.; cf. Hyg. CXXXIX.

⁶⁸ *Fast.* IV 197 sqq.

⁶⁹ Aug. *De Civ. Dei* VII, 25; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* III 11, 12.

The philosopher Sallust calls the Mother the life-imparting goddess, and Attis the δημιουργός of things coming into existence and things wasting away.⁷⁰ Maternus interprets the love of the Mother for Attis as the love of the earth for her fruits; his emasculation as the cutting of fruits; his death as their preservation; and his resurrection as the sowing of the seed again.⁷¹ In the hymn in Hippolytus he is called an ear of grain cut off while yet green—*χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα*.⁷²

Modern interpretation does not differ from the ancient. Taking as a basis the Pessinuntean legend in Arnobius, Rapp, in Roscher's *Lexicon* s. v. Attis, gives in substance the following interpretation: The bringing forth of Attis by Agdistis, who does not bear him herself, but is parent only of the almond-seed which the daughter of the Sangarius eats, symbolizes the springing of the plant kingdom from the bosom of the earth. Attis, having grown to youthful beauty, and being beloved of the Great Mother, becomes her lover as well as her son. Having broken faith with her, he emasculates himself as punishment, and dies—i. e., the beautiful plant growth, thriving luxuriantly up to midsummer, dies to the ground under the glowing rays of the sun. The Mother mourns her creation and buries him—the earth, despoiled of her blooming vegetation, is in sorrow during autumn and winter. But Attis rises again by means of the efforts of the Mother and is again united to her—the earth conserves seed and root, and vegetation returns in the spring. The time of the annual festival, which occupied a period including the equinox, is thus seen to be especially appropriate. The *Dies sanguinis* was the last day of winter, and the *Hilaria* occurred on the day when the hours of daylight began to lengthen and the sun to ascend again.

⁷⁰ *De Diis et Mundo* 4.

⁷¹ *De Error.* 3.

⁷² *Ref.* V 9.

The actual presence of Attis in the period of the Empire and the esteem in which he is held are among the most important manifestations in the growth of the cult at Rome. Known only as a character in the legend under the Republic, he is found in the new March festival in the imperial period receiving a full share in the ceremonies of commemoration. When the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* come into prominence, it is to both Attis and the Mother that the sacrifices are made, and he is put on an equality with his protectress. He is advanced to the rank of divinity and is omnipotent and omniscient—"Ἀττει δ' ἐψίστω καὶ συνιέντι τὸ πᾶν."⁷³ The Emperor Julian calls him μέγας θεός and βασιλεύς.⁷⁴ However, he is secondary to the Mother in importance, and is never entirely independent of her at Rome, but always her associate and minister—ἱποργὸς τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ ἡνίοχος.⁷⁵ His importance in the East was the same. Psellus refers him to the Phrygian Zeus,⁷⁶ and Arrian says the Bithynians called Πάπας τὸν Δία καὶ Ἀττιν τὸν αὐτόν.⁷⁷

In the fourth century Attis had come to be a symbol of the sun.⁷⁸ His emasculation symbolized the diminution of the heat of the sun, his resurrection the return of the heat in the spring, and the *Hilaria*, on the first day of the ascent of the sun, were especially appropriate as representing the joy of the earth at the recurrence of the warm season.⁷⁹ The fact that the sun began its ascent in the zodiacal sign Aries may have had to do with the sacrifice of the ram to Attis. He is represented in one instance upon a chariot drawn by four rams, which is interpreted by Visconti as the triumph of the sun at the spring equinox.⁸⁰

⁷³ Kaibel *Epig.* 824.

⁷⁴ *Or.* V 168 C; cf. Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* III 23.

⁷⁵ *Jul. Or.* V 171 C.

⁷⁶ *Περὶ Ὁρομαίων* 109.

⁷⁷ Eustath. on *Il.* V 408.

⁷⁸ Macrob. *Sat.* I 21, 9; *Jul. Or.* V 163 D; Arnob. V 42.

⁷⁹ Visconti *Annales* 1869 pp. 226, 7.

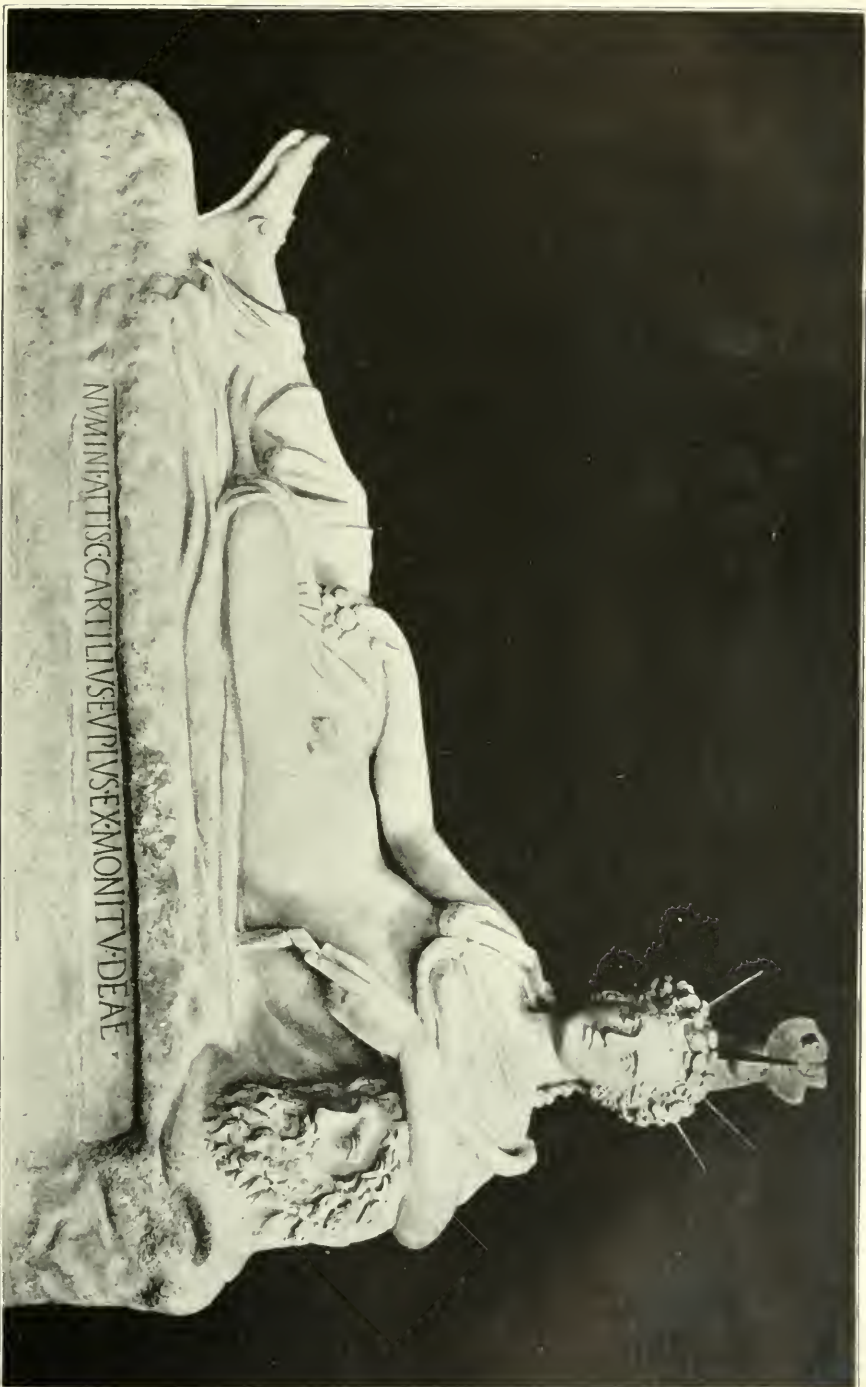
⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 239.

The most important representation of Attis, however, is the life-size statue discovered at Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum. The youth reclines on the Idaean rock in an attitude of repose, his left elbow resting upon the head of Idaean Zeus. He is clad in a long mantle which is fastened over the breast. In the left hand is the pedum, and in the right fruit and flowers with three spears of grain. The head bears a pine garland with fruits, and a tiara, from which spring five rays, and which bears also a half-moon and two spears of grain. Besides representing him in the character of the shepherd-lover of the Mother and as the symbol of the fruits of the earth, conceptions with which we are already familiar, this statue makes prominent his solar character by means of the rays and the grain and fruits. The presence of the half-moon is a reference to Attis as Menotyrannus, an epithet applied to him in this period as a result of his confusion with Men, the Phrygian Moon-God.⁸¹ It is possible that he also enjoyed a cosmic significance, the rays of the sun and the half-moon being emblems of the universe; in which case the gift of a silver image of the moon by a priest, as well as the phrases ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἀστρων, ἀστερωτὸς πῖλος, "Ἄττις λευκός would possess a significance which they do not have when we think of Attis only as the shepherd-lover or as the symbol of vegetation.⁸²

The interpretation of Attis as a symbol of the sun, or as having a cosmic significance, was a product of syncretism. The task of transforming the Phrygian companion of the Mother into such a symbol, however, was from the nature of the case of little difficulty. First, the Mother herself had long been regarded as the earth; second, the time of the principal ceremonies of the cult, the March equinox, naturally lent an astronomical significance to the deities honored; and third, the legend of a Great Mother with a son and daughter Helios and Selene had become current long

⁸¹ *C. I. L.* VI 499 sqq., 508, 511.

⁸² *Ibid.* IX 3146; Hippol. *Ref.* V 9; Jul. *Or.* V 165 B; Babr. *Fab.* CXXVI; Roscher's *Lex.* s. v. Attis 720.



THE ATTIS FROM OSTIA.

A Statue in the Lateran Museum. (From a Photograph by Alinari.)

before. Diodorus III 57 records the tale. Basileia, the daughter of Ge, was called the Great Mother because of her motherly care for her brothers after the death of Ge. Such was her sagacity that after the death of her father she was entrusted with the government of the land. Influenced by the desire to leave heirs to the throne, she finally wedded Hyperion, and bore Helios and Selene, both marvels of beauty and wisdom. Her brothers, however, fearing that Hyperion would possess the realm, slew him and drowned Helios in the Eridanus. Selene, grief-stricken at her loss, destroyed herself, while Basileia, searching by the river for the body of Helios, swooned and had a vision in which her son bade her not to mourn, for her children were to become beings of immortal nature, and the sun, hitherto called the sacred fire, was now to be called Helios, and the moon Selene, instead of Mene. Regaining consciousness, Basileia recounted her dream, gave command to worship as divine her dead children, and forbade anyone ever to touch her person; whereupon, losing her reason, she seized the tympanum and cymbals which had served as playthings to Selene, and, filled with the divine frenzy which their sounds inspired, with dishevelled hair wildly traversed the fields in a manner which struck fear into beholders. Certain ones in pity attempting to lay hands on her were frightened away by torrents of rain and by falling thunderbolts, in the midst of which demonstration Basileia disappeared. The awe-inspired people established a cult of the stars, invoking them under the name of Helios and Selene, placed their mother among divinities, and erected altars to her, performing all her rites to the sound of tympana and cymbals.

The Basileia of this legend was naturally identified by the Romans with the Great Mother, and Helios was consequently thought of as being the same as Attis. The fact that Helios was the sun tended to give Attis also a solar character when the two were identified, and this, together

with the festival of the equinox and the Mother's character as the earth, made it easy for syncretism to give the Attis-myth the new significance which it acquired in the late period.

V.

THE SPREAD OF THE CULT UNDER THE EMPIRE.

The Great Mother's growth in favor in the outlying parts of the Roman world was as great as at Rome itself. The shrine at Pessinus underwent a magnificent restoration at the hands of the Romans when they made the transfer of the image, and the Attalid kings were benefactors in a like manner at a later period.⁸³ The political importance of the priesthood at Pessinus is indicated by the fact that both Eumenes II and Attalus II intrigued with its representative, a certain Attis, promising him armed assistance in the recovery of certain temple lands.⁸⁴ The power of the priesthood at Pessinus, however, had declined, in a political way, at least, by the first century B. C. They had in ancient times been very powerful—οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν δυνάσται τινὲς ἦσαν, ἱερωσύνην καρποῦμενοι μεγάλην, νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν αἱ τιμαὶ πολὺν μεμείωνται, τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον συμμένει.⁸⁵ The decline of which Strabo speaks may have been one of the causes of the ease with which the Romans accomplished their purpose of transferring the image. However, the city continued throughout the history of the cult to have great significance as the most ancient and sacred seat of the religion, was the goal of pilgrimages, and worshiped the goddess under the names *Δανδυμήνη*, from Mt. Dindymon overhanging the city, and *Πεσσινωνντίς*, from the city itself.⁸⁶ She was rep-

⁸³ Strabo 567.

⁸⁴ Momm. III 276 note.

⁸⁵ Strabo 567.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 469.

resented on coins of Pessinus in the imperial period,⁸⁷ and the Emperor Julian attempted to inspire her cult with new life in the age of its decay.⁸⁸

All parts of Asia Minor knew the religion of the Mother, and the cult spread to the very eastern confines of the peninsula and found its way even into Syria, the stronghold of the Dea Syria described by Lucian as so much resembling the Mother. Phrygia especially was a center of the cult. Strabo calls her *Φρυγία θεὸς μεγάλη* and says that all Phrygia worshiped her.⁸⁹ The scholiast notes: *σύμπασα ἡ Φρυγία ἱερὰ τῷ θεῷ*.⁹⁰ Other districts in which she attained special prominence were Mt. Sipylus, where she was known as *Σιτυλήνη*, *Σμυρναϊκή*, and *Πλαστήνη*, the last name from a city near by;⁹¹ Pergamum, where she was known as *Περγαμηνή* and *Ἀσπορηνή* from the city and a neighboring mountain, and where she was represented on the frieze of the great altar;⁹² the Troad and neighborhood of Mt. Ida especially, where she was *Μήτηρ Ἰδαία*, *Ἀνδερηνή*, and *Τηρείη*, from mountains;⁹³ Mt. Tmolus, where she was called *Ἰσοδρόμη*;⁹⁴ Cyzicus, where she was *Πλακιανή*, from the city of Plakia, *Λοβρίνη*, from a neighboring mountain, *Δινδυμία*, from a Mt. Dindymon, and *Κορυανή*.⁹⁵ The esteem in which Attis was held in the East has been noticed on p. 287. As late as 350 A. D. he was especially honored among the Phrygians.⁹⁶

⁸⁷ Mionnet VII 644, 64 etc.

⁸⁸ *Ep.* XLIX 431.

⁸⁹ Strabo 469.

⁹⁰ Schol. to Apollon. *Arg.* I 1126.

⁹¹ Strabo 469; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* III 328; Paus. V 13, 7.

⁹² *C. I. G.* 6835; Strabo 619; Overbeck *Gesch. d. Griech. Plast.* II 406.

⁹³ Strabo 45, 614, 539.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 440.

⁹⁵ *C. I. G.* 3657; Nic. *Alex.* 8; Apollon. *Arg.* I 1125; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XVII 531 sq. no. 33.

⁹⁶ Harpocration s. v. Attis. *Ὁ Ἄττις παρὰ Φρυγῶν ἀλίστα τιμᾶται ὡς πρόπολος τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν.*

Numerous coins with familiar types of the Mother, struck under the Empire in nearly every province of Asia Minor, form another evidence of the universality of the cult. The greater part of those known were struck during the period beginning with the reign of Hadrian and ending with that of Gallienus; and the Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Geta, and Gallienus seem to have been those under whom the coinage was most frequent.⁹⁷ In the reign of Commodus, for example, coins bearing representations of the Mother were struck in Phrygia, Bithynia, Mysia, Ionia, and Lydia.

The age of the Antonines, which marked the period in which coins bearing representations of the Mother began to be frequent in Asia Minor, marked also the rise and spread of the *taurobolium*. The coinage was essentially Roman, not Phrygian or Asiatic, and the frequent appearance in it of the Mother was the manifestation of a revival or a quickening of interest in the cult coming from Rome as a center. The wave of influence which was manifested in Gaul by the introduction of the *taurobolium* reached Phrygia and the East at the same time and was manifested in the coinage. Rome, instead of a mission post, had become the center of the whole cult, whose history from that time on was much the same in the provinces as in the capital.

Owing to the close resemblance and consequent confusion of Cybele, Rhea, and the Greek Great Mother, it is impossible to speak with definiteness of the career of the Phrygian divinity in Greece. Of her introduction and the repute in which she was held mention has been made. The purely Asiatic features of the worship were not agreeable to the Greeks, and Attis especially met with little favor. He was honored at Peiræus at the beginning of the second century B. C. with Ἀττίδεια, which seem to have been festivals like those of Adonis, and it is probable that Cybele-Attis and Aphrodite-Adonis were identified in this case. The priestess

⁹⁷ Mionnet, Imhoof, et. al., *passim*.

of the cult, which was a private one dating from the end of the fourth century, is mentioned with honor because ἔστρωσεν δὲ καὶ κλάνην εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ Ἀττίδεια.⁹⁸ The great similarity of Attis and Adonis, whose only striking difference lay in the detail of emasculation, was one cause of the failure of the worship of the former to become more popular in Greece. Peiraeus, being a seaport town, was naturally more easily entered by foreign cults than the inland cities. Elsewhere in Greece Attis enjoyed a sanctuary in common with the Mother in only two cities, Dyme and Patrai,⁹⁹ and was never recognized as other than a foreign divinity. Lucian calls him, together with Pan, Korybas, and Sabazios, τοὺς μετοίκους τούτους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους θεοὺς.¹⁰⁰ Besides the shrines of the Mother at Peiraeus, Dyme, and Patrai, there were in Pausanias' time sanctuaries at Thebes and Acraiae, a city of Laconia.¹ These are given as belonging to the Asiatic Mother. The difference, however, between the worship of the Greek and the Asiatic Mother and Rhea was at most very slight under the Empire, except in the few places where Attis also was worshiped. The *taurobolium* was extremely rare, and only two instances of its performance, commemorated on altars both found at Athens, are known. Both occurred at a very late period in the fourth century A. D.² Coins of Megara, Corinth, Patrai, etc., are indications of the influence coming from Rome in the second century A. D. The cult in Greece, however, never reached the height of popularity which it enjoyed at Rome, a fact which is evidenced not only by the unpopularity of Attis and the rarity of the *taurobolium*, but by literary testimony. The worshipers were for the most part women, and even the few men who cultivated the religion were the weak and ef-

⁹⁸ Comparetti, *Annales* 1862, 23 sqq.

⁹⁹ Paus. VII 17, 9; 20, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Icaromen.* 27.

¹ IX 25, 3; III 22, 4.

² *C. I. A.* III 172, 173, cf. *Bull. dell' Ist.* 1867, 174.

feminate.³ Pythagorean Phintys tells honest women to keep away from the rites of the Mother,⁴ and Plutarch advises husbands to close their doors against stranger superstitions, and attributes the strength of the cult to charlatan beggars and vagabonds who manufacture oracles for slaves and women.⁵

Numerous coins with representations of the Mother, dating from the period of the Antonines and later, testify to the prosperity of the cult in Thrace. She was worshiped in several places in Macedonia, a relief of her having been found at Amphipolis, where were also found, in a necropolis, hundreds of terra cotta figurines of Attis.⁶ Moesia was a stronghold of the cult, and Epirus also afforded it a home.⁷

The cult followed the Roman arms into Africa. The Mother appears on Egyptian coins of Antoninus Pius, Faustina, and Julia Domna.⁸ Augustine in his youth witnessed the games and scenic festivities of the *Lavatio* at Carthage.⁹ In Mauretania, Cesarea especially was a home of the cult.¹⁰

In Spain, inscriptions attest *taurobolia* in Emerita and Corduba, and dedications in Olisipo and Capera.¹¹ In Mago in Minorca was a temple to the Mother and Attis. Aquitania and the Gauls, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, the Rheinland, and even Britain have left traces of the divinity, and the Italian peninsula received her in every province. Lugdunum and Augustodunum, in Gallia Lugdu-

³ Schol. to Aristoph. *Birds* 877, *Lysist.* 339; Iamb. *De Mysteriis* III 10.

⁴ Stobaeus *Floril.* LXXIV 61.

⁵ *Praecept. Coniug.* 19; *De Pyth. Orac.* 25.

⁶ *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1894 p. 423 no. 3, and 1895 p. 534.

⁷ *Mi. et. al., passim.*

⁸ *Ibid.* VI 243, 1643; 310, 2135; Poole p. 184 no. 1465 pl. 7.

⁹ *De Civ. Dei* II 4.

¹⁰ *C. I. L.* VIII 9401; Victor Wailie *De Caesareae Monumentis Quae Supersunt.*

¹¹ *C. I. L.* II Supp. 5260, 5521; *C. I. L.* II 173, 179.

nensis; Tournacum, in Gallia Belgica; Narbo, Forum Julii, Vasio, Dea Augusta Vocontiorum, Valentia, and Tegna, in Gallia Narbonensis; Celeia, in Noricum; Salonae, in Dalmatia; Ostia, Portus, Praeneste, Tibur, and other cities near Rome; Cumae, Puteoli, Teate, Corfinium, Venafrum, Saeppinum, Beneventum, Venusia, Brundisium, Falerii, Faesulae, Interamnia, Augusta Taurinorum, Mediolanium, Brixia, Verona, Aquileia, Tergeste, Capodistria, in the Italian provinces—were all centers of the cult.¹²

The designation of the Mother in Asia, as has been seen, varied according to the locality in which she was worshipped. The influence of this custom is seen in the West in the name *Palatina*, applied to the goddess because of her temple on the Palatine.¹³ She is generally known under the Empire, however, by some name which calls to mind either the land whence she came, Phrygia, her connection with the legendary parent city of Rome, Ilium and Mt. Ida, or her essential nature as Mother of all being. She is thus *Mater Phrygia*, *Cybele*, *Cybebe*, *Cybeleia Mater*, *Pessinuntia*, *Dindymene*, *Berecynthia Mater*, *Mygdonia Mater*;¹⁴ *Mater Idaea*, *Mater Iliaca*;¹⁵ *Magna Mater*, *Mater Deum*, *Mater Deum Magna*, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*.¹⁶ Of these the last class is the most frequent, especially *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*, which unites both character and legendary significance and provenience.¹⁷

That the characteristics or the cult of the Mother should remain invariable in all the diverse lands in which her religion flourished was impossible. Her very nature forbade that; for every nation had its Great Mother, or at least

¹² Roscher's *Lex.* II 2 s. v. Meter; Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Oxford 86, 131, 132, 159, etc.

¹³ *C. I. L.* XII 405.

¹⁴ Verg. *Aen.* VII 39; Juv. II 111; Catull. LXIII 9; Ovid *Ibis* 453; Arnob. IV 35; Hor. *C.* I 16, 5; Verg. *Aen.* VI 784; Val. Flac. II 46.

¹⁵ Lucret. II 611; Prud. *Contra Sym.* I 623.

¹⁶ *C. I. L.* VI 506; 494; III 1100-1102; VI 499.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* VI 499-502.

some divinity akin to her in character, and the approach of the Mother of necessity resulted in each case, if not in a complete blending of the two divinities, at least in a modification of the one or the other. In Syria, she is with difficulty to be distinguished from the Dea Syria. In Greece she early became all but completely blended with Rhea, and is not clearly distinguishable from the Greek Mother except when she is designated by an Asiatic name or mentioned in connection with Attis. At Peiræus, as has been seen, she was identified with Aphrodite. At Carthage it was the Virgo Caelestis with whom she was associated.¹⁸ If the Germans worshiped her on her introduction into their country by the Romans, they no doubt saw in her their own *Mater Deum*, mentioned by Tacitus.¹⁹ In Rome itself, and in Italy, she was akin to Ceres,²⁰ to Tellus,²¹ to Ops or Maia,²² and was confused even with Minerva²³ and Juno.²⁴

Except where her cult existed in proximity to those of the Dea Syria and Rhea and the Greek Mother, however, the Great Mother preserved her identity completely; and even in the case of those divinities it was more at their own expense than at that of the Mother that the identification took place. At Rome, and in the West generally, she never changed her character perceptibly under the influence of other divinities. She may have taken on at her introduction some small part of the staidness and heaviness of the old-Roman gods, but otherwise she remained the same to the end. When under the Empire the returning wave of influence from Rome reached Greece and Phrygia, the variations in the cult throughout the vast organization of the

¹⁸ Aug. *De Civ. Dei* II 4.

¹⁹ *Germ.* 40.

²⁰ Aug. *De Civ. Dei* VII 16, cf. *C. I. L.* V 796.

²¹ Aug. *De Civ. Dei* IV 10.

²² Macrob. I. 12, 20; cf. p. 266.

²³ *C. I. L.* IX 1538-1542: *Attini sacrum et Minervae Berecint. or Paracrentiae.*

²⁴ Aug. *De Civ. Dei* VII 16.

Roman possessions became still more slight. Rhea and the Greek Mother, long before this time all but assimilated with the Phrygian Great Mother, now became completely identified with her, and writers called her Cybele and Rhea indifferently. The cult was uniform, and co-extensive with the Empire.

We have thus seen the religion of the Great Mother established in every part of the dominions of the Roman people. Transplanted from its already ancient home in the East to the new West, it so thrived under the new conditions that in three centuries its western home was the center, not an outpost, of the cult, and not only disseminated the worship to the utmost confines of the Roman world—to Britain, Spain, Africa, Syria, Scythia—but revived it in its ancient stronghold. And yet this religion was termed in its own day, and we still term it an oriental superstition, and marvel that it could have become so popular even among a people as little given to inquiring into the deep things of the gods as were the Romans of the imperial period. The Great Mother of the Gods was an essentially foreign divinity; her priests were fanatics, often of a despised nation, and, worse than that, sexless; her rites consisted of frenzied orgies; her genius was entirely different from that of the old gods of Rome—and yet her cult found ready admission, gained ground from the first, grew until it became one of the most popular and powerful in Rome, and was one of the very last to fall before Christianity. The horror which the most notorious of its practices inspired is exemplified in Catullus: nothing could be more repulsive to a Roman. The increase of the cult in popularity was attended by an increase in corrupt practices in connection with it. Clodius, the enemy of Cicero, could sell to Brogitarus, the son of King Deiotarus, the very shrine of Pessinus, and the celebration of the *Megalensia* lost its origi-

nal respectable character.²⁵ Lucretius and Varro are no friends of the priesthood of the cult. Gentle and reverent Vergil, seeking for fit words to express the contempt which sturdy Turnus feels for Trojan Aeneas, can find nothing more pregnant with scorn than *Phryx semivir*.²⁶ The *Galli* are the butt of Martial's obscene wit,²⁷ and the lash of Juvenal's scorn descends upon the cult again and again.²⁸ It matters not that Juvenal was a satirist and Martial a professional wit, and that the testimony of wit and satire is not the most satisfactory; the outward features of the religion, at least, were such as to scandalize anyone but a fanatical adherent. That it lived throughout the centuries seems, at first thought, strange; that it grew to enormous proportions, spread to the ends of the earth, and could win the praise and even the tenderness of poetry,²⁹ is incomprehensible unless there was some reason for it that is not immediately apparent.

We have noted the fortunate combination of circumstances which followed the introduction of the cult—the good harvests, the end of the second Punic war, the general success of the Roman arms—and the patronage of the patrician class. Emperors rebuilt and restored the Mother's temples and extended her worship;³⁰ Empresses had themselves represented in her image;³¹ members of good families entered the priesthood, or performed sacrifices to the goddess in behalf of the imperial house; her last defenders were men of high rank in the State.³²

²⁵ *De Harusp. Resp.* 13, 28; 12, 24.

²⁶ *Aen.* XII 99.

²⁷ II 45; III 81.

²⁸ II 111; III 60; VI 511; VIII 176.

²⁹ Claud. XV 116-130; XX 279-303; Verg. *Aen.* IX 80 sqq.

³⁰ *Res Gest. Div. Aug.* IV; *C. I. L.* IX 1406.

³¹ Müller-Wieseler I 69, 379; Imhoof 211 no. 682 taf. 12, 16; Coh. II 417,

55.

³² Cf. p. 311.

But the religion was not aristocratic in character; on the contrary, it was one which had special attraction for the masses of the people. Cicero complains of the number of slaves in attendance on the ceremonies.³³ The prominence of processions, in which all might participate, the collection of the *stips* from house to house, the *Megalensia*, with its games, the *Hilaria*, with the scenic festivities of the day and the universal participation in revelry, which was not only encouraged but enjoined by law, the magnificence of equipment in the celebrations, to which each worshiper felt himself a contributor, the personal familiarity which the people had with the priests by reason of the collection of the *stips*—all were elements which united to make the religion strong among the masses of the people.

But the causes of the growth and prosperity of the religion of the Great Mother are not to be found in mere chance, class favor, or the superstition of the common people. These may conduce to growth, but something greater must underlie a religion which grows to such proportions and has as long and vigorous a life as this one had. The real causes are to be sought in the character of the Mother herself and in the character of her religion.

She is a chaste goddess. Marsyas, in the legend of Diodorus, is chaste in his relations with her. Even Ovid represents Attis as winning the chaste love of Cybele. The oracle bids the Romans receive her with chaste hands, and the Vestal Virgins go to welcome her. Claudia constitutes her the umpire of her purity. All her ministers by their own will lead chaste lives in her service. And she is a beautiful goddess, and of wonderful intelligence in meeting the needs of her suffering subjects. But greatest of all is her maternity. She is not so much a mere Mother of the Gods as a Mother of all creatures in the world. Her touch is healing. She is mistress of the beasts of the field, which in submission draw her chariot. She is the genius of the

³³ De Harusp. Resp. 12, 24.

mountains, the protectress of the cities of the world. In the fields she is supreme. Her blessing causes the seed to swell, the bud to burst, the fruit to ripen. And she is kindly and benignant. She is the *alma parens* of Vergil. She loves the fruits of the fields with all a mother's devotion, welcomes them at their birth, rejoices in their growth, and when they waste away and perish, laments them with a mother's sorrow. She is the great, fruitful, kindly earth itself.

Further, there was something more genial and satisfactory to the soul in the religion itself than in the formal, stately, and passionless religion of the ancient gods of Rome. The need which was beginning to be felt, and which was to be met in fullest measure by Christianity, was met in some small measure, at least, by the oriental religions, among the three most prominent of which was that of the Great Mother. Her devotees were brought nearer the divine and nearer each other than the worshipers of the classical divinities. Their divinities could prophesy, and foretell victory, but she could do more than that—she could communicate with them spiritually; it was possible for a human soul to be enthused with the spirit of the divine. And men were brought nearer each other. There was the geniality of religious association in the fraternal organizations of the *dendrophori* and *cannophori*. The populace and the priests were kept on familiar terms by the collection of the *stips*, and in the performance of their duty the latter were afforded abundant opportunity of making use of all the arts usually practiced by a scheming priesthood upon the ignorant multitude. As we have seen, Plutarch calls the priestly followers of the Mother in his land a race of vagabonds who fabricate oracles for slaves and women;³⁴ the goddess was *ἱατρὸν* at Peiræus, she was skilled in healing in the legend of Diodorus, and magic cures were

³⁴ *De Pyth. Orac.* 25.

wrought by her ministers,³⁵ who could also furnish prophetic information to shepherds and farmers regarding their flocks and harvests³⁶—and what was true in Greece may be taken as an approximation of what was true at Rome. Further, there was the element of self-sacrifice and consecration, with its consequence so important for the faith of the worshiper, the consciousness of duty performed and deeds accredited, the feeling that divinity has been placed in his debt. The priest of the Great Mother consecrated himself to her service with an act of self-sacrifice as great as that of any modern monk or priest. He knew what it was to fast, he was merciless to his flesh on the *Dies sanguinis*, and was no stranger to the pain of self-scourging. He may have been the patient object of indignities while on his round of duty among the people. Nor were the latter without their share in the sacrifice, though it may have been smaller. The system of collections from house to house for the support of the cult gave every worshiper a personal interest in the richness of ceremony to which he himself was a contributor. Temperance was enjoined; no one polluted with wine was permitted to enter the sanctuary.³⁷ The worshipers at Pessinus were said to abstain from the flesh of swine.³⁸ Finally, and not of least importance, there was the connection of the religion with the idea of purification and new birth. Purification for twenty years or regeneration *in aeternum* by baptism of blood in the rite of the *taurobolium*, though infrequently mentioned and of vague meaning, at least serve to indicate one cause of the rise of the Mother's religion.

These, then, were the causes of the rise and spread of the religion of the Great Mother of the Gods. She was beautiful, chaste, and kindly, and her religion was one of

³⁵ Athen. 553 C.

³⁶ Philost. *Vita Apoll.* III 43.

³⁷ Arnob. V 6.

³⁸ Paus. VII 17.

those which made an advance on the old-time worships in meeting the needs of its devotees. "These religions (the oriental) had something deeper in them than those of Greece and Rome; they addressed themselves more fully to the religious sentiment," says M. Renan. This much is true, whatever the character of their ministry and however great the amount of corruption which gathered around them. Unfortunately for the justification of their worshippers, few words in their defense have survived, while the voices raised against them are many. The wit, the satirist, and the zealous Christian theologian are the witnesses in the case, and their evidence is limited to the reprehensible. Great in amount as that was, the fact of its presence does not disprove the existence of the praiseworthy. The spectacle of a noble principle degraded by unworthy adherents was not offered the world for the last time in the days of Paganism.

VI.

THE CULT FROM THE TIME OF CLAUDIUS TO ITS FALL.

Neither the administration of Nero, whose short-lived favor was extended now to one, now to another religion, but who was careless of them all; nor the tumultuous times of his successors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were favorable to the extension of the cult beyond the limits it then occupied. Nero is said to have impersonated Attis in the theater.³⁹ The annual festival was being duly celebrated in 69 A. D., when Otho set out on his fatal campaign against Vitellius *die quo cultores Deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt*.⁴⁰ Vespasian, as has been seen, restored a temple of the Mother at Herculaneum. Domitian, by his law against castration, opposed at least one feature of the worship, whether or not he directed the measure against the cult.⁴¹

It is not until the time of Trajan that definite evidence appears of the spread of the cult to the northern and western provinces. The golden age of prosperity for the Empire was also the age of greatest prosperity for the religion of the Great Mother. An inscription from Lusitania testifying to the existence of the cult in that place dates from 108 A. D., which may have been some time after the entrance of the worship.⁴² Coins of Trajan bearing representations of the Mother, struck in Lydia and Egypt, are

³⁹ Dio Cass. LXI 20.

⁴⁰ Suet. *Otho* 8.

⁴¹ *Amm. Marc.* XVIII 4, 5

⁴² *C. I. L.* II 179.

extant.⁴³ It is from the reign of Hadrian that the first known *taurobolium* inscription dates. The first known occurrence of the same rite outside of Italy dates from 160 A. D., and is another evidence of the extension of the cult toward the North. In this age, too, beginning especially with Hadrian, the striking of coins and medallions bearing the figure of the goddess became very common. The practice was continued with frequency for a century. The numerous examples especially of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, the two Faustinas, Commodus, and Julia Domna throughout both West and East, and those of Caracalla, Macrinus, the Gordians, the Philips, Valerius, and Gallienus in the East are evidence of the extent of imperial favor.⁴⁴ Whether the striking of these coins had a special significance cannot be determined in the majority of instances; but those of Commodus are naturally to be connected with an incident related by Herodian.⁴⁵ Maternus, who with his small army of depredators had been setting at defiance the authority of the Emperor in Gaul and Spain, determined to forestall his sovereign's revenge by taking active measures against him. Having secretly made the journey to Rome, he and his followers were to assume various disguises and mix with the crowd on the day of the *Lavatio* and assassinate Commodus. But the latter was informed of the plot, and Maternus and his accomplices were arrested and punished. The Emperor having disposed of his enemies, sacrificed and rendered thanks to the Mother, escorting her on her way in the procession of the day with rejoicing. Coins were struck bearing the legend *Matri Deum Conserv. Aug. Cos. VI* and the figure of the mother on a lion.⁴⁶ The eastern origin of Julia Domna is sufficient ex-

⁴³ S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* 65; Stuart Poole *Cat. Gr. Coins of Alex.* p. 51 no. 427 pl. 7.

⁴⁴ Cohen and Mionnet *passim*.

⁴⁵ I 10-11.

⁴⁶ Coh. III 274, 354; cf. 355.

planation of the great number of representations of the deity on coins dating from her time and from that of her sons Caracalla and Geta. The establishment of a new branch of the cult, the restoration of a temple, or some incident similar to that related of Commodus may have been the occasion of the striking of these coins, but in general they seem to indicate only the favor in which the cult was held.

But at the same time in which the Great Mother and other oriental divinities were taking possession of the Roman Empire even to its farthest confines, another eastern cult, though less favored and even denied equal privileges, was rapidly gaining strength. By the latter half of the second century Christianity could appear in Roman literature debating the merits of the old and new faiths with dignity and assurance. The charming dialogue of Minucius Felix, who flourished in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, presents in calm and unembittered language the views of two cultured Roman gentlemen of the opposed religions. The Pagan sees in Christianity an unreasonable falling away from the ancestral religion and a needless overturning of long-established custom. The Christian's attention is fixed upon the absurdity of polytheism and the revolting nature of its legends and practices. The oriental deities, particularly Isis and the Great Mother, are the prominent objects of his animadversion. The points of attack upon the latter, as might be expected, were the legend of Attis and the practices of the priesthood.⁴⁷ The assaults of Tertullian are directed toward the same features. The exultant orator tells with great relish of an *Archigallus* who devotedly chastised his own flesh *pro salute imperatoris Marci Aurelii*, not knowing that the Emperor had died seven days before. The day on which the priest poured out his blood by castrating *also his arms—lacertos quoque castrando*—was the

⁴⁷ *Octavius* 22 and 24.

Dies sanguinis of the regular festival, *die nono Kalendarum earundem (Aprilium)*.⁴⁸

But the first irreverent hand laid upon the Mother was not that of a Christian. The first remarkable act of Elagabalus after his succession and arrival at Rome was to build a temple on the Palatine near the imperial dwellings, to which he was desirous of transferring (and the historian leaves us to infer that in most cases he carried out his design) the *veneranda* of all the religions of Rome. Among these was the sacred stone of the Great Mother, for whom, next to the Sun, his tutelar deity, Elagabalus evinced the greatest partiality. A favorite diversion of his was to impersonate the gods, and he assumed the character of the Mother, appearing with two lions. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to gain possession of the Palladium, for which the Vestals gave him a fictitious image, but was more fortunate in his designs on the *sacra* of the Mother. To accomplish his end he was initiated into her service, performed a *taurobolium*, engaged in all the rites of the *Galli*, tossing his head in the frenzied dance and imitating not only their actions but also their appearance in every particular.⁴⁹

The efforts of the mad Emperor, however, did not disturb the fortunes of the goddess. The *Hilaria* were one of the great festivals in the eyes of his successor, Alexander Severus, who on that and a limited number of other holidays allowed his frugal table to be graced with an extra fowl.⁵⁰ In 268 A. D., when the news of the death of Gallienus and the accession of Claudius to the throne came from Milan to Rome, the Senate could not be convened because of the celebration of the *Dies sanguinis* which was in progress—*sacrorum celebrandorum causa*—and an informal meeting to ratify the election of the new Emperor was held in the temple

⁴⁸ *Apol.* 25.

⁴⁹ *Lamprid. Elagab.* 3, 23, 6, 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid. Severus* 37.

of Apollo.⁵¹ Arnobius, writing *Adversus Nationes* in Numidia about 295 A. D., gives evidence by the completeness with which he describes and interprets the rites of the annual festival and recites the legends of the cult that the worship still existed in all its details, and the polemical tone of his declamation indicates that the cult he attacked was still flourishing.⁵² In 303 the *Hilaria* were duly celebrated at Rome. It was on that occasion that Junius Tiberianus, prefect of the city, apparently after having taken official part in the exercises of the day, took Flavius Vopiscus into his carriage on the Palatine, and as they rode over to the *Horti Variani* persuaded him to write the Life of Aurelian. The day had lost none of its spirit—*Hilaribus, quibus omnia festa et fieri debere scimus et dici.*⁵³

Thus the cult occupied no mean position at the time of the abdication of Diocletian; but that it had begun to pale before the advance of Christianity is evident as well from the boldness with which the champions of the new faith attacked it as from the subsequent course of events. The qualities which had served to attract the worshiper of the Mother and hold him through the centuries of her prosperity began to seem less worthy now that they began to be the subject of constant comparison with a purer and more reasonable religion. Constantine ascended the throne, and the Edict of Milan placed the Christian worship on an equal footing with the Pagan. The adoption of the new religion by the Emperor, the policy of his successors, Constantius and Constans, who decreed the closing of temples and the cessation of sacrifices on pain of death,⁵⁴ tended to make Paganism the persecuted instead of the persecuting religion. An insertion in the decree of Constans, however, providing for the punishment of officials who

⁵¹ Trebell. Poll. *Claudius* 4.

⁵² Arnob. V 5-16.

⁵³ Vopisc. *Aurelianus* 1.

⁵⁴ *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 4.

should neglect to enforce its provisions, betrays a lack of confidence in its efficiency. That the edict of the youthful rulers was inefficient at Rome, or that it was at least untimely, is shown by a decree issued after a short interval conceding the use of temples outside the walls because of their sacred character as being connected with the origin of time-honored festivals.⁵⁵ Maxentius, in the rebellion which proved fatal to Constans, attempted to conciliate the Pagan element by conceding the right to sacrifice during night hours, but the concession was withdrawn three years later, in 353 A. D., by Constantius, who vanquished him and united the East and West under one scepter.⁵⁶ However, the moderate and tolerant spirit shown by the Emperor during his visit to Rome in 357, as well as the silence concerning the violations of the edicts against the practice of Pagan rites, makes it extremely probable that they were not strictly enforced, at least at Rome.

The brunt of the attack upon Paganism by the sons of Constantine was sustained by the oriental religions. Firmicus Maternus, addressing them in the year 347 in his *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, attacked especially the religions of Isis, Cybele, the Virgo Caelestis, and Mithras. The old-Roman and Graeco-Roman deities were now all but ancient.

As the Great Mother was one of the chief divinities to suffer from the assaults of Constans and Constantius, she was likewise one of those who were especially favored by the Emperor Julian in his short reign of two years and a half. The zealous ruler writes an oration in her defence and invests the legends and practices of her cult with deep philosophical significance. The castration of Attis symbolized "the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error."⁵⁷ In the year

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 10, 3.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 10, 5.

⁵⁷ *Or. V*; Gibbon *Decline and Fall* XXIII.

362, while on a journey from Constantinople to Antioch, the Emperor turned aside to visit the ancient shrine at Pessinus, where he venerated the deity.⁵⁸ To his regret, however, he found his subjects at Pessinus less devoted to her than he wished, a condition which called forth a letter from him to the high priest in Galatia with an exhortation to quicken the inhabitants in their devotion.⁵⁹ In 363, on the 27th of March, the last day of the annual festival, coming to Callinicum in Mesopotamia on his march against the Persians, he celebrated the rites of the *Lavatio* in the time-honored way. The language of the historian, who composed his work about 390, indicates that the festival was still in vogue at Rome both in the time of Julian and when the history was written—*ubi diem sextum Kalendas [Apriles], quo Romae Matri Deorum pompae celebrantur annales, et carpentum, quo vehitur simulacrum, Almonis undis ablui perhibetur.*⁶⁰

With the death of Julian Paganism again lost the imperial favor. Jovian and Valentinian, however, were tolerant, and it was not until the beginning of Gratian's administration, in 375, that Paganism again became the object of attack by the government. The protracted conflict over the altar of Victory was terminated by its final removal from the Senate. About 382, the Emperor decreed not only the withdrawal of governmental support from the Pagan cults, but even the seizure and appropriation by the State of all temple property.⁶¹ This measure, while it did not deny the right to worship, deprived Paganism of the property it had accumulated and shared in common with the State for ages, and was a mortal stroke; the measures of Valentinian II, in 391 and 392, forbidding attendance in the temples and sacrifices both public and private,⁶² hastened the death.

⁵⁸ Am. Marc. XXII 9, 5.

⁵⁹ Jul. *Ep.* 49, 431.

⁶⁰ Am. Mar. XXIII 3, 7.

⁶¹ V. Schultze *Untergang des Heidentums* I 221.

⁶² Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 11 and 12.

But Paganism made a last convulsive effort. On the death of Valentinian in 392, Eugenius was thrust forward by a faction as claimant to the throne, and reigned two years. He was a Christian, but adopted the policy of conciliating the Pagan party by generous concessions. Having obtained, after repeated efforts, the restitution of all privileges denied by Gratian,⁶³ the Pagans at Rome, headed and inspired by Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, consul for the year 394, attempted to re-establish the polytheistic religion, and for three months the altars of the ancient city were rich with sacrificial victims.⁶⁴ A *lustratio urbis* was instituted for the first time since Aurelian; Paganism became once more the faith of the city of Rome, and Isis, the Great Mother, Mithras, and Flora were among the most prominent of the reinstated deities.

Among the demonstrations of this three months of Pagan triumph that which made the deepest impression on the mind of the only witness whose testimony is left to us was the celebration of the rites of the Great Mother. Flavianus himself performed the *taurobolium*; the *Megalensia* were given; the trunk of the sacred tree was borne in procession; Attis was not without his part in the ceremonies; and the Mother herself, seated in her car, to which were yoked lions of silver, guided by silver reins in the left hand of their mistress, was carried through the streets by the leading citizens.⁶⁵

This is the last appearance of the Great Mother to the world. Devotees no doubt there were who cherished her in secret, but from this time she disappears from view. Her triumph was cut short by the arrival of Theodosius on the scene, the death of Eugenius and Flavianus, and the enforcement of the decrees of Gratian. She is outlawed,

⁶³ Ambros. *Ep.* I 57, 6.

⁶⁴ *Codex Parisinus* 8084 in Riese *Anth. Lat.* I 1. For full explanations of these verses cf. Morel. *Rev. Arch.* 1868 and De Rossi *Bull. Crist.* 1868.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* v. 57 sqq.; 107; 108; 109; 103-7.

and her priests driven from her temples.⁶⁶ Serena, the niece of Theodosius, adds insult to injury, and brings upon herself the fatal curse of the Vestals by despoiling the fallen deity of a necklace.⁶⁷ A few years elapse, and the Sibylline Books, which had been the cause of her introduction six centuries before, are burned by Stilicho; and in 448-9, we read in the *Fasti Silvii*, opposite the date March 27th, the day of the bathing of the Mother in the Almo: *Lavationem veteres nominabant. Resurrectio*. The most famed of the festivals of the Mother had already become a thing of antiquity.

The very site of the temple on the Palatine was soon forgotten. The prominent part the Mother played in the last struggle probably made her sanctuary one of the first Pagan edifices to fall before the fanaticism or rapacity of the Christian party as soon as all restraint was removed. It is not unlikely that the destruction of the temple took place during the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, when the fury of the Christian soldiery raged unrestrained for three days against the monuments of the ancient religion.⁶⁸ The monk of Einsiedlen, in his *Itineraria* of the ninth century, does not include it among his lists of ancient ruins. The writer of the *Mirabilia*, of the twelfth century, shows how vague were the ideas of the antiquary of his day. The Pantheon, then a Christian church, had been dedicated, says this writer, to the Mother of the Gods, Neptune, and all the gods by Agrippa, in obedience to a command of the goddess who appeared to him in a dream. In her honor he also made and set upon the summit of the edifice a gilded image of the deity, with a bronze canopy and the Pine-cone as a covering.⁶⁹ The same author says *ubi est Sancta Maria Maior fuit*

⁶⁶ Zos. IV 59; V 33.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* V 33. The author sees a fulfillment of the curse in the strangling of Serena by the Senate on the approach of Alaric after the death of Stilicho.

⁶⁸ Jerome *Ep.* 8; Milman *Lat. Christ.* I 132-136.

⁶⁹ *Mirabilia* 16 and 19 (*Cod. Urb. Romae Top.*).

templum Cybeles, which is not corroborated by other evidence and is in all probability untrue.⁷⁰

And so the sites of the sanctuaries of the Mother passed as well from the vision as from the mind of man, and lay for many generations under the ever-changing city. Twelve centuries after her downfall evidences of her once having existed again appeared. At the very threshold of the greatest of the temples of the religion which had triumphed over her, thirty palms under ground, were brought to light eight *taurobolium* altars, some of them shattered by the hands of Christian enemies, and all thrown one upon another in a shapeless heap.⁷¹ They mark the site of the worship in *Vaticano*. The sites of other places in Rome sacred to the worship of the goddess were not determined until the present century. In 1848, three miles outside of Porta Maggiore, on the Via Labicana, were found the monuments of the tomb of the *gens Hateria*, one of them a relief showing a succession of structures on the *Sacra Via*, among them an arch-like *sacellum* with a statue of the Mother and her lions.⁷² This relief, in connection with passages in Dio Cassius and Martial, is evidence of the existence of a shrine on the north slope of the Palatine near the *Summa Sacra Via*.⁷³ Another shrine, to whose decoration belonged a terra-cotta antefix found near the church of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, probably stood near the junction of the Almo with the Tiber, the scene of the landing of the goddess and the *Lavatio*.⁷⁴ The *Basilica Hilariana*, a series of chambers which were occupied by a college of *dendrophori* in the second century A. D., was discovered on the Caelian in 1889.⁷⁵

The Palatine temple itself was uncovered at the beginning of the century, but was not fully identified until

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 30.

⁷¹ *C. I. L.* VI 497-504.

⁷² *Annales* 1849, 363-410.

⁷³ Dio Cass. XLVI 33; Mart. I 70; Hülsen *Röm. Mitth.* 1895 p. 25 sqq.

⁷⁴ Visconti *Annales* 1867, 296 sqq.

⁷⁵ Visconti *Bull. Comm.* 1890, 18-25.

1895,⁷⁶ although Visconti and Lanciani had partially determined the site in 1873.⁷⁷ Little of it remains. To one who ascends to the summit of the Palatine by the *Scalae Caci* appear, on a plateau overlooking the valleys of the Circus Maximus and the Velabrum, the foundations of an ancient structure, covered by a grove of ilexes. Scattered about it in confusion lie some sixty fragments of capitals, columns, and entablature, all of peperino once finished with marble stucco; and near one of the walls, at one side, sits a headless statue of heroic size, with parts of the heads and paws of two lions at its feet. This is the statue of the Great Mother of the Gods, and the fragments and foundations are all that remains of her temple.

⁷⁶ Hülsen *Röm. Mitth.* 1895, 1-28.

⁷⁷ *Guida del Palatino* 134 sq.

VII.

THE GREAT MOTHER IN ART, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION.

It remains to speak of the Great Mother's place in art and literature, and of her significance in the religious movements of her world. Of purely Asiatic art in which she appears, little remains; of Asiatic literature, nothing: nor is it possible to estimate her as a religious force before she has emerged from her native wilds. As to Greece, her appearances in the art of that country are duplicated in Graeco-Roman art, her place in its literature is altogether insignificant, while her place in its religion has perhaps been sufficiently noticed. Hence a treatment of her mainly in the Roman world will serve amply to illustrate the relations in question.

The main elements of the manifold representations of the goddess in later art are present in the few crude remains which are purely Asiatic. On the north slope of Mt. Sipylus, where the Mother flourished, four miles east of the ancient city of Magnesia, is the colossal relief which was formerly called Niobe, but which is now recognized as a representation of the Asiatic goddess. It is about sixteen feet high, cut out crudely in the limestone rock, and represents a female figure on a throne with arms crossed upon her breast. Its position in a frame or niche makes it the prototype of the reliefs, so common in later times, representing the divinity in an *aedicula*. Another relief near the Tomb of Midas, in the vicinity of the ancient city of Prynnessus in Phrygia, represents the goddess seated, with the *patera* in her left hand; and still another, in the same region, about seven feet high, shows her upright, accompa-

nied by two lions, one on either side, erect, and with paws resting on her shoulders much as the Mycenae lions rest theirs on the column in the famous portal. Not far from these last reliefs was discovered a rock altar with the inscribed words *Matar Kubile*, which serves not only to identify them but also to render more probable the belief that the so-called Niobe is the Asiatic Mother. All these reliefs are in soft rock, crudely executed, poorly preserved, and date from before the middle of the sixth century B. C. ⁷⁸

A second stage in Asiatic representations may be seen in remains found at Cyme in Aeolis, north of Smyrna. They consist of a statue and two reliefs of seated female figures about three feet high on blocks of stone resembling grave steles. One figure is in a quadrangular niche representing an *aedicula*, and all have traces showing that they held lions on their knees. Small terra-cottas discovered in the same place also show the presence of lions. The art of the Cyme remains is an advance upon that of the larger figures in the interior, though still rough and unskilled, and represents the period when Greek art first began to influence that of the mainland of Asia Minor. In these as well as in the colossal figures of earlier date the Mother appears in the character of the guardian of tombs. ⁷⁹

The contact of Greek with Asiatic had the effect not only of improving the art of the latter but of multiplying it. The appearances of the Mother in art before the end of the fifth century B. C. are very rare, and it is only from the Hellenistic age that her figure becomes common in the eastern world. It is in the Roman period, however, that she becomes most common. The original types of Asia Minor, with all the numerous types developed by the Greek world, then become common property, and under the Empire her lineaments are familiar in every part of the known world.

⁷⁸ Ramsay *Jour. Hell. Stud.* III 35-41; V 244; Reinach *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XIII 556.

⁷⁹ Reinach op. cit. 543 sqq.

The different types of representation of the Mother and her attributes can best be shown by passing in review coins and medallions struck in Rome and the provinces after the transfer of the goddess from Pessinus. The fundamental type shows the deity seated on a chair or throne, rather fully draped, with a head-dress which is usually turreted, and from which often descends over the shoulders on either side a veil.⁸⁰ In rare instances she is standing instead of sitting.⁸¹ She is sometimes at the doorway or in the interior of a shrine or temple.⁸² The *patera*, sometimes in the right and sometimes in the left hand, is a frequent attribute.⁸³ The tympanum, held in the hand, in the hollow of the arm, serving as a support for the elbow of the goddess as she leans in easy attitude, resting at her side, in one instance between the forefeet of a lion, is still more frequent.⁸⁴ The cymbals also appear, held by the goddess or suspended from a tree or plant.⁸⁵ The scepter is another attribute.⁸⁶ The lion is the most frequent attribute of all. He sits at her side, reclines at her feet, appears behind her; his head alone appears, or his front alone is seen. The goddess rests her feet upon him or rests a foot on one lion while she holds others suspended by the neck in either hand, sits upon one while he bears her in full career, is drawn in her car by two or by four of them. Her favorite position is on her throne with a lion on either side. One representation shows a lioness nourishing a child, which may be the Mother while an infant.⁸⁷ Various attributes

⁸⁰ Mi. V 144, 834.

⁸¹ Coh. IV 116, 137.

⁸² *Ibid.* VIII 286, 94.

⁸³ Mi. IV Suppl. 563, 84.

⁸⁴ Coh. II 431, 229; Imhoof *Jahrb.* III 295 sq. taf. 9, 28; Coh. III 150, 172; Mi. VII Suppl. 400, 384; Head *Ionia* 256, 171.

⁸⁵ Coh. II 439, 305.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Mi. I 371, 60; Coh. IV 116, 137; III 150, 172; Bab. II 312, 3; Coh. IV 115, 128; Head *H. N.* 594; Coh. III 274, 354; Bab. II 506, 4; Coh. II 382, 1139; 431, 229; Coh. *Cat. Gréau* 176, 2001.

such as branches of laurel or pine, garlands on the head or in the hand, poppies and ears of grain or the horn of plenty in the hand, trees and plants, testify to her connection with the fruits of the field.⁸⁸ Attis makes his appearance under the Empire, though less frequently than might be expected. He is usually standing, but is found reclining, or leaning against the pine; he wears the Phrygian cap, bears the pedom or syrinx, has the moon-sickle across his shoulders, like Men; stands in front of the Mother, at her side, outside her temple, or with her in her chariot; she places her hand on his shoulder.⁸⁹ The miraculous drawing of the craft up the Tiber by Claudia is also represented.⁹⁰ Isolated instances occur of the goddess leaning against a column, stretching forth her hand toward a pillar, of a stag in the field of the coin, of signs of the zodiac, of stars on the head of Attis.⁹¹

In seeking to gain an adequate conception of the place of the Mother in the plastic arts we may be aided by making rough divisions of the monuments in which she appears, and observing their variety and extent. They may be classified as coins, reliefs, statues and statuettes, votive offerings, sarcophagi, household objects of ornamental value, cameos or gems, mosaics, and paintings.

The first coins bearing representations of the Mother are *denarii* of the early years of the first century B. C.⁹² They are comparatively rare for two centuries, though few periods of prominent rulers in the Empire are without an ex-

⁸⁸ Coh. III 164, 295; 223, 101; Mi. VII Suppl. 547, 289; *Cat. Walcher de Maltheim* 220, 2696; Mi. VII Suppl. 400, 384; Imh. I. c.; Mi. IV 363, 988; Coh. II 439, 305.

⁸⁹ Coh. II 439, 306; Wroth *Cat. Gr. Coins of Mysia* 50, 236, pl. 13, 7; Coh. VIII 277, 26; Haverkamp *Alex. Num.* pl. 7, 18; Coh. III 164, 295; Mi. VII Suppl. 645, 58; Coh. VIII 299, 212; 300, 214.

⁹⁰ Coh. II 439, 307.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* IV 116, 137; Mi. III 159, 708; IV 102, 559; Coh. VIII 318, 362; Mi. IV 391, 104.

⁹² Bab. I 526, 19. I 395, 13 and I 436, 14, dating from 104 and 89 B. C., are disputed.

ample. The short reigns only fail to be represented among extant coins referring to the Mother, many of them for the reason that they put forth little coinage of any kind. The extant specimens of the Republic are of gold and silver, and bronze becomes frequent in the second century of the Empire. The appearance of the Mother in coinage is most frequent during the second century and the first half of the third century A. D. It is rare from 250 to 300, and does not occur in the fourth century except in a number of *con-torniates* which are ascribed to the final period of Paganism.⁹³ Those coins of the Republic which bore allusions to the cult were usually commemorative, such as those of the years 83, 69, and 54, which were struck by the aediles in memory of the *Megalensia* celebrated by them.⁹⁴ The majority of instances of the Mother's appearance in coinage of the Empire, as has been stated, are to be attributed only to general favor.

Representations in relief may be divided into relief on the friezes of sacred buildings, tomb relief, and altar relief. In the first class, the goddess appears on the frieze of the treasure-house of the Siphnians at Delphi going into battle drawn by her lions, work of the last quarter of the sixth century B. C.⁹⁵ She also appears riding on the back of a lion on the great altar at Pergamum, and again on the frieze at Priene.⁹⁶ Mention has already been made of her appearance on tomb reliefs in the archaic period of art in Asia Minor, and in the transition at Cyme. In Italy, the figure of Attis, the unfortunate youth cut off in the prime of his beauty and strength, representing the death of vege-

⁹³ Roscher's *Lex.* II 2915.

⁹⁴ *Bab.* I 526, 19; II 312, 3; 324, 13. A coin, struck by Clodius in 43 B. C., contains the representation of a Vestal, which Babelon (I 354, 12) refers to Claudia Quinta. Cf. p. 228 and note 23. It may be said with equal reason to refer to the Vestal Claudia who is often confused with Claudia Quinta. *Val. Max.* V 5, 6.

⁹⁵ Reinach *Rev. Arch.* 1895, 98 sq.

⁹⁶ Overbeck *Gesch. d. Griech. Plast.* II 406.

tation which was to rise again, naturally found a place in tomb relief. He is represented at Brescia with his chin supported on his right hand, one leg carelessly swung before the other, a youth in meditation and sorrow.⁹⁷ The presence of an inverted torch in this type of relief strengthens the allusion to death.⁹⁸ Among altar reliefs one of the most interesting is that of Claudia Quinta drawing with her fillet the ship on which sits the enshrined goddess. It is dedicated to *Matri Deum et Navisalviae*.⁹⁹ The representations usually incised, of the attributes of the Mother and Attis and the instruments of the cult—the pine, with birds in its foliage, with instruments suspended from its branches, with Attis leaning against it, the syrinx, the straight and the curved pipe, the *patera*, vases of various forms, the pilleus, the tiara, the tympanum, cymbals, and crotala, the lighted torches, inverse or transverse, the heads of the bull or the ram, the animals themselves; the cock, *gallus*, as a play on the designation of the priests, the sacrificial knife, the Mother herself in her car attended by Attis—may be mentioned here.¹⁰⁰ Votive offerings are numerous both in Greece and the West. Here may be classed the silver image presented by the *Archigallus* and others to the college of the *cannophori* at Ostia.¹ At Arausio in Gallia Narbonensis was found a marble fragment inscribed to the Mother and bearing the delineation of a human foot.² A coin of 83 B. C. shows the goddess and a deformed human foot.³ Votive offerings in the form of reliefs of the deity in *aediculae* were common in the Hieron of Epidauros and have been found in great numbers in Italy. The latter average about 35 by 25 centimeters, and present the deity

⁹⁷ Dütchke *Antike Bildw. in Oberitalien* IV 354, 359, 360, 380.

⁹⁸ Dütchke *ibid.* V 569.

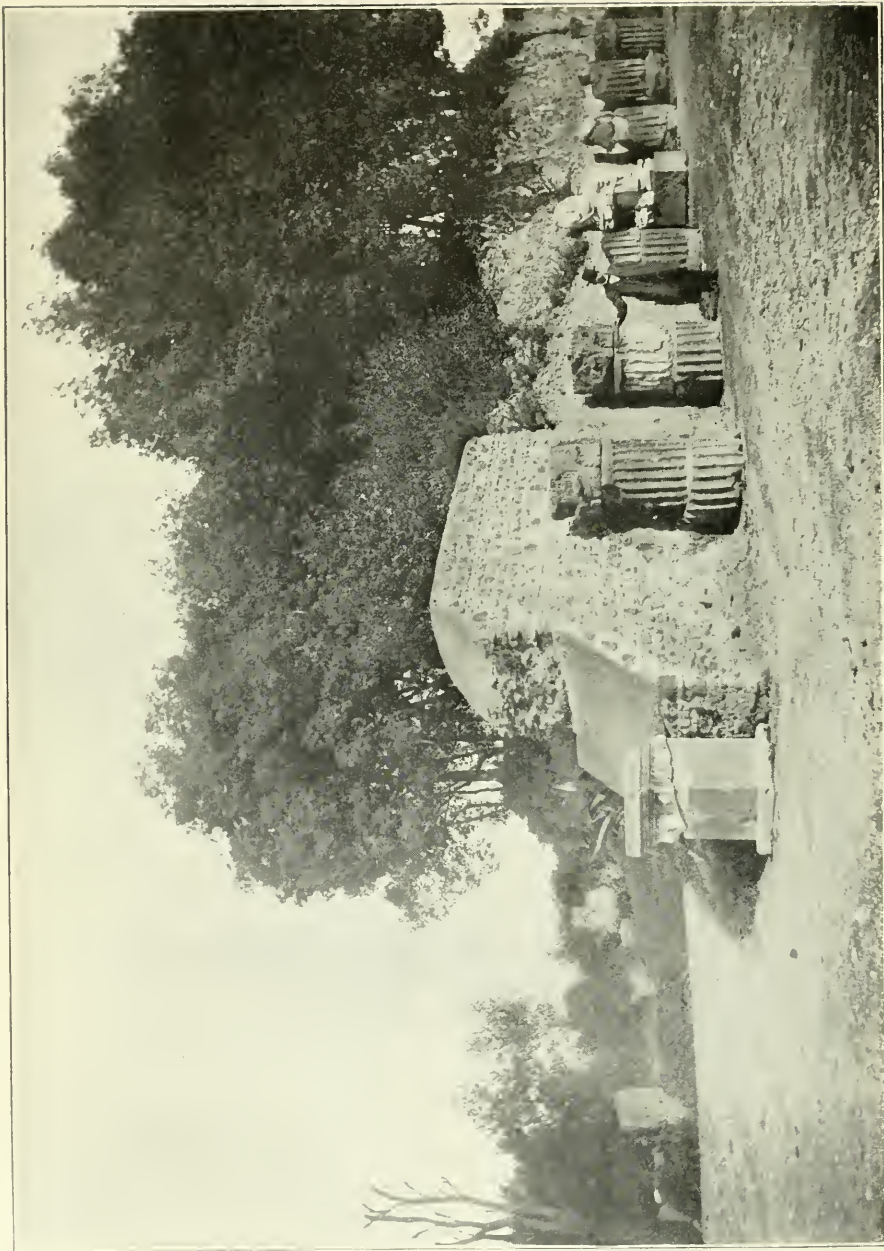
⁹⁹ Helbig *Coll. of Antiq. in Rome* I 436.

¹⁰⁰ *C. I. L.* VI 494-512; XII 1569; XIV 429.

¹ *Ibid.* XIV 34-37.

² *Ibid.* XII 1223.

³ *Bab.* I 526, 19.



THE TEMPLE OF THE GREAT MOTHER ON THE PALATINE HILL.

From a Photograph by Chas. J. O'Connor.

in most instances on her throne with modius or mural crown and full drapery, two locks of hair descending on either side of the face, the tympanum and patera in her hands, a lion on her knees or lions at her side, while a female figure with a torch, or a youth, stands near.⁴

As examples of statues may be mentioned the figure in Visconti *Museo Pio-Clementino*, fully draped, with mural crown and veil, seated on a throne and resting the left arm upon the tympanum, the similarly clad life-size figure found at Formiae, now in Copenhagen, which held aloft its left hand with the reins of the lions, the statue found on the Palatine, and the statue of Attis from Ostia, already described.⁵ Statuettes of the goddess with her usual attributes are abundant in Italy,⁶ and a group in bronze representing her in her car drawn by lions, discovered at Rome, is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York City.

Among smaller figures may be cited the above-mentioned terra-cottas of Cyme and the figurines of Attis found in the necropolis of Amhipolis.⁷

There exists at least one sarcophagus with a relief showing the Mother. It is in the cloister of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura at Rome, and represents a procession in which the Mother, with her tympanum, seated on a throne, her lions in full career before her, is borne on a platform by a company of twelve men, preceded by another company of eight men carrying a statue of Victory, by trumpeters, and a squad of elephants.

On a lamp from Sparta is represented Attis, clad in a Greek chlamys, lying under a tree, with pedum, tympanum, and flutes.⁸ A silver vessel in the museum at Avig-

⁴ Dütchke V 297, 594, 597, 603, 606, 727, etc.

⁵ *Musco Pio-Clem.* I pl. 39; Lanciani *Ruins and Excav.* 137; cf. p. 233.

⁶ Dütchke V 801, 806, 929.

⁷ *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XIX 534.

⁸ Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* I taf. 75, 4.

non found near Arles, shows on its handle the goddess on her throne holding a basket of fruit.⁹ The heads of the Mother and Attis were used as decorations, four examples of their use in this way having been found in Gaul.¹⁰

Among cameos and gems are to be mentioned the cameo in Vienna on which is Livia in the character of the Mother, and an amethyst with Claudia Quinta and the ship.¹¹

In pictorial representation proper the Mother appears on a lion on the spina of a circus in the mosaic of Barce-lona.¹² She is also represented in a Pompeian painting in the Naples museum, although not in person. In the large fresco of Zeus and Hera on Mt. Ida, the mountain, instead of being included in the picture, is merely suggested by the attributes of the cult of the Great Idaean Mother—a column is painted, on which sit four lions and around which are suspended the tympanum, the cymbals, and the flute.¹³

The abundance and variety of representations of the Mother testify to the favor in which she was held in many lands; but during all the centuries represented by the above cited examples there appeared no really great work of art inspired by her. The reasons are obvious: neither the land of her nativity nor of her adoption possessed an artist who could have created a great work, and the Greek, who alone could have given her a place beside a Zeus, an Athena, or a Hermes, refused her admittance as well to his heart as to his country until the golden age of art was a thing of the past. The Roman, who represented her as ever genial and benignant, would have made her the subject of work with more power to attract the heart than the Greek, had he possessed the power, though his creation might not have been so grandly beautiful. Both the Cybele from Formiae

⁹ *C. I. L.* XII 5697, 3.

¹⁰ Roscher's *Lex.* II 2925.

¹¹ Müller-Wies. I no. 379; J. Henry Middleton *Lewis Coll. Gems and Rings* 72, 140.

¹² Hübner *Annales* 1863, 160 pl. D.

¹³ Naples Museum no. 9559.

and the Cybele described by Visconti have singular powers of attraction, poor though their art is.

Hardly more can be said of the influence of the Mother's religion in literature. For reasons identical with those mentioned above in accounting for the absence of any great monument of art, there was little of the beautiful in Greek literature that was inspired by her. The comic poets represent the hostile attitude of the Athenians and of the Greek people in general. Sophocles' few words, however, show the conception which a religious Greek had of the essential character of the Mother while as yet the practices of her cult were not present to his sight;¹⁴ and the poetry which could be inspired by her as the Great Mother of all creation is exemplified in the few verses of Apollonius Rhodius.¹⁵ In Roman literature the presence of the Mother is manifest to a much greater degree. The story of Claudia Quinta and the arrival of the Mother is the subject of some of the most charming passages in Roman poetry, and carries the spirit of poetry with it even into prose when Livy recounts it.¹⁶ But above all is the poem of Catullus, which is not only the greatest poetry inspired by the cult of the Mother, but one of the greatest poems in the literature of the Romans.¹⁷ These passages in Roman literature, however, while they have to do with the cult of the Mother, can hardly be said to be inspired by the goddess herself. The poem on Attis presents the horror-inspiring side of the worship, and the Claudia story does not depend upon the religion of the Mother for its power. If we look for passages inspired by real religious feeling, showing a warmth of sentiment, Vergil and Claudian alone will reward our search. The story of the Mother's kindly care over the ships of Aeneas, her appearance in Claudian as the com-

¹⁴ *Phil.* 389-391.

¹⁵ *Arg.* I 1140-8.

¹⁶ Ovid *Fasti* IV 305-347; *Sil. Ital.* XVII 1-47; Livy XXIX 14.

¹⁷ LXIII.

passionate parent of Rome and the benignant Mother of all the gods show something of sympathy, and are at least contrasts to the rough onsets of Juvenal and the obscene thrusts of Martial.¹³ But when all is said, the personality of the goddess herself seems to have had but little influence upon literature. Her place is not that of a Venus, who could draw a beautiful invocation even from unbelieving Lucretius, nor of a Juno or a Diana. Here again reasons readily suggest themselves. The Mother was not, like other famed divinities, a legacy of the Greek race, and the Roman poet had no rich store of Greek literature inspired by her from which to draw, as he had in the case of the Olympian deities. Further, the period of her greatest popularity came only after the golden age of poetry had gone; and besides, there were always the *Galli* and a sense of the foreign origin of the religion to interfere with poetic conception. The comparative lack of great literature inspired by the Mother, therefore, is not to be taken as indicative of a corresponding lack of influence in a religious sphere, but rather as an accident of time.

The cult of the Great Mother existed at Rome two years less than six centuries, and was the oldest of the group called oriental religions. It presents the unique spectacle of a cult the date and circumstances of whose rise and fall at Rome are well defined, and whose course can be followed from century to century with a fair degree of certainty. In interpreting the phenomenon of its appearance and disappearance we shall be aided by taking account first of its relation to the religions among which it was received and which it in some measure displaced, and second of its relation to the religion which in turn displaced it.

In the light of the subsequent history of Roman religion, the reception of the Great Mother seems at first sight to be the initiative in a course which did not make for the wel-

¹³ *Aen.* IX 77-122; Claudian. XV 120, 123; XX 279-303.

fare of the State or of the cause of religion. It has even been called an event "making in fact an epoch in the world's history."¹⁹ But too much emphasis must not be laid on the introduction as an epoch-making event. Those who believe in the continuity of the religious experience will see in it not so much a cause of what followed as an effect of what preceded it, and an event in the orderly progress of the world's religion toward its end. It was epoch-marking rather than epoch-making. It was a necessary consequence of the religious policy of Rome. That policy had been from the first a policy not only of toleration, but of more than toleration; it was a policy of invitation, even of appropriation. It successively formed, by continual addition, the early circle of old-Roman divinities, then in every possible case, as Hellenic influence made itself felt, introduced and identified with them the Greek divinities, and finally, when the circle of Olympus had been exhausted, had recourse to the Hellenized orient. The same policy would have welcomed the god of the Christians as well from the first had he not been a jealous god. The introduction of the religion of the Mother was an innovation only in that it was the first eastern non-Greek religion to find its way to Rome. It represented no change of policy.

As little did it represent a change of direction in the line of development of religion at Rome. The policy of a people is the outgrowth of its needs. The religion of Numa was purely formal, with the sole intention of giving the divinity the exact measure of what was due him and of receiving in turn the exact measure of what was due from him. The gods of his time were vague, far away, unimaginable beings, unapproachable and unsympathetic. When the Roman had had revealed to him the genial gods of Greece, who not only had definite shape, but had appeared to mortals and communicated with them, the natural consequence was his adoption of them. They brought the un-

¹⁹ Mommsen III 115.

seen world nearer to him, and satisfied in some small measure his natural human longing for a more intimate relation with the divine. In like manner when the oriental religions, among them that of the Mother, came to him with their mysticism, offering him the means by which to come another step nearer divinity, he felt the want of his soul still better satisfied, and eagerly granted the new deities a place among the old. The more conservative, hostile to the new faiths, called them *superstitiones*, and the present time uses the same term when comparing them to the old-Roman faiths, and assumes that they represented a decadence; but whatever were the abuses which gathered about them, they gave the worshiper hope of drawing nearer the divine, of being able to do something for his soul, and represented an advance on mere formalism. The religious revival of the first century A. D. brought hosts of worshipers to the Mother and the Egyptian divinities, while the gods of the old regime fell into the background. With the newer faiths there was mysticism, there was asceticism, and one could, as it were, put the divine in his debt. There was purification, and the peace that follows it. The priests of the Mother and Isis were so many Pagan monks. The next step of the worshiper toward the divine was to be Christianity itself.

The change from old-Roman to Graeco-Roman gods, the rise of the eastern religions, and the triumph of Christianity are thus the successive steps in an orderly progression. The distance between the last two was infinitely greater than the other steps, and was traversed with infinitely greater difficulty. Christianity refused to share the sanction of the State with Paganism, for such a course meant the compromise of its purity. Paganism would not give up the rights it possessed by reason of the tradition of centuries, and a struggle began, the representatives of the old system being principally Isis, Mithras, and the Great Mother.

Aside from the fact that these religions were traditional and established faiths, there were two causes which contributed to the tenacity with which they maintained their places in the last century of their existence. One was the continual strife within the Church itself, which could not but lessen the effectiveness of its appeal to the non-Christian population. The strife of the Arian controversy, the persecution of the weaker by the stronger sects, and, more than all, the struggles between pope and anti-pope which bathed the streets of Rome in blood and even strewed the floors of churches with the slain, were little calculated to undermine the faith of the Pagan in his own gods. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, one of the last great defenders of the old religion, was entrusted with the suppression of Christian riots. But the other cause was greater, and was found in the character of the resisting religions. They offered, at least in a superficial way, the same advantages which were offered by the new religion itself. Those doctrines of asceticism, sacrifice, purification, and salvation which had from the beginning belonged to the mystic religions to some extent, now began to be put forward in conscious rivalry with Christianity. Philosophy was called in to invest the old myths and ceremonies with reasonableness. The old and the new systems had so many points in common, especially those which appeal to the great mass of the ignorant and unthinking, that the passage from the ranks of Paganism to those of Christianity was facilitated even before the former had fallen, and was made doubly easy when its cause had at length been proven hopeless. It is thus that the oriental faiths, despite the reproach which their abuses and the word *superstitiones* have attached to them, despite the desperate struggle they made for existence, may be said to have contributed to make straight the way for Christianity.

The Great Mother was not the least of the contributors to the new faith for the very reason that she was one of its

most obstinate enemies. She had early made her opponents feel the weight of her antagonism. About 180 A. D. Saint Symphorian was arrested and martyred for refusing to do obeisance to her as she passed in procession.²⁰ A fanatical Christian soldier who burned her temple in Amasia in Pontus, and two Christians who overturned her altar at Pessinus, met the same fate.²¹ She is one of the principal objects of the attacks of Arnobius, Maternus, and Augustine, and is one of the two or three chief actors in the last appearance of Paganism before the public. The resemblances which her religion bore to Christianity may have been superficial, but they were such as to enable her to offer to the ordinary worshiper of her time the same benefits which were offered by it. There was the scourge and the knife for the ascetic priest, the fast for the self-denying, the life of chastity for the consecrated as well in her service as in the service of the Christian religion. Her religion also made its pretense to virtue in its demand of chastity and temperance on the part of its ministers. Her cult was one of gladness to the populace in its games and festivities. She was always benignant; no thunderbolts were thrown from her hand to terrify her people. If the Christians could be purified and absolved from sin, she also could offer her subjects the means of purification. If there was a death and a resurrection in their religion, there was something in hers also which at least faintly resembled it. Her devotees as well as the Christians could receive salvation, σωτηρία. The day which symbolized it was the *Hilaria*—Ἰλαρίων ἑορτήν ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὴν ἐξ Ἀδου γεγωνῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.²² The *Lavatio* was his Easter. Half a century after the *Lavatio* ceased to be celebrated, the *Fasti Silvii* record *Resurrectio* as occurring that year on the date of the ancient celebration, with the

²⁰ Ruinart *Acta Mart.* 63.

²¹ Marangoni *Delle Cose Gentilesche e Profane* 206 and 259. Ruinart cit. 339 sq.

²² Damasc. *Vita Isidori* in Photius p. 345 a, Bekk.

comment: *Lavationem veteres nominabant*. The advocates and defenders of the Mother could even go so far as to parallel the Virgin herself in their divinity. The Mother too was at the same time a mother and a virgin—the *παρθένος ἀμήτωρ* of Julian²³—for the conception of Attis was not in the ordinary course of nature. Indeed, as such she had a *παρθένων*.²⁴ Her son, too, rose from the dead. A tempter in the person of a rhetorician tried to draw an African bishop into a discussion of the similarity between the Mother of the Gods and the Mother of God.²⁵ The mere title *Mater Dei*, then coming into frequent use, would instantly provoke a comparison with the *Mater Deum*, and the formal bestowal of the former title on the Virgin in council in 430 A. D. might well have seemed in the eyes of Pagans like despoiling their fallen goddess of even her title. The temple of the Mother in Cyzicus was converted into a church of the Virgin, a fate likely to have befallen every temple of the goddess not destroyed by the zeal of fanatics.²⁶ The church of Santa Maria Maggiore was supposed to have arisen on the ruins of another temple, and Santa Maria Rotunda, the mediaeval Pantheon, was long supposed to have been originally a sanctuary of the Mother.²⁷

Such were some of the features which enabled the Mother to prolong her resistance to the new religion. When the contest had proven fruitless and her worshipers were more directly open to the appeals of Christianity their transition to the new faith was made easier by their familiarity with what was common, or what to them seemed to be common to the two religions. They learned the doctrine of a truer self-devotion, found the way to a deeper purification, a more lasting and complete *σωτηρία*, a greater depth of

²³ *Or.* V 166 B.

²⁴ *Athen. Mitth.* VII 158, inscription.

²⁵ Isidor. *Ep.* IV 31, 23.

²⁶ Schultze *Unterg. des Heid.* II 301 sq.

²⁷ *Mirabilia* 30, 16, and 19.

peace, a nearer relation to the divine. The Easter was a better version of the *Lavatio*, the *Mater Dei* and her son more than a substitute for the *Mater Deum* and *Attis*.²³

²³ A. Haakh *Stuttgarter Philolog. Vers.* 1857 holds that the modern Carnival is a survival of the *Hilaria*. Andreas Fulvius I, *De Ostia*, comments as follows on the *Lavatio*: *qui lavandi mos servatur hodie Romae in lavandis pedibus imaginis Salvatoris dum gestatur per urbem mense Augusti*. Cf. Marangoni *Delle Cose Gentilesche e Profane* 93 sqq., who attributes the institution of this festival to one of the early popes.

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WORTLEHRE DES ADJECTIVS IM ALTSAECHSISCHEN

VON

DR. EDWIN CARL ROEDDER

Instructor in German

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IN TREUEM GEDENKEN.

*Thoh ina eldibarn erdhu bitháhtin,
ðiapo lidulbhín, nis hé dód thiú mér:
that flésk is bifolhan, that feral is gihaldan.*

Nach Hel. 4057-4059.

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EINLEITUNG.

1. Die vorliegende Arbeit ist der erste Teil eines Versuchs, das Adjectiv auf dem Gesamtgebiete des Altsächsischen — also nicht allein im Heliand — in all seinen Erscheinungsformen darzustellen. Gerne bekenne ich mich schon äusserlich durch Titel und Anordnung des Stoffes mit der von Ries* geforderten Einteilung der Grammatik und ihrer Abgrenzung gegen die Stilistik einverstanden: ein zweiter Teil der Untersuchung soll die syntaktischen Verwendungsweisen des Adjectivs behandeln; derselbe soll in etwa Jahresfrist erscheinen; und womöglich wird den beiden grammatischen Untersuchungen noch eine solche über das Adjectiv im Altsächsischen als stilistisches Hilfsmittel nachfolgen.

2. Die Wortlehre schliesst sich im wesentlichen der Anordnung in Holthausens Altisl. Elementarbuch (Weimar 1895) an. In der Wortbildung, die für das Altsächsische seit Grimm keine geschlossene und auch kaum die gebührende Behandlung erhalten hat, folge ich der zweiten Abtheilung von Wilmanns' Deutscher Grammatik (2. Aufl., Strassburg 1899), die nach Paragraphen angeführt wird; im Gegensatz zu Wilmanns habe ich in dem engeren Rahmen meiner Arbeit durchweg möglichste Vollständigkeit angestrebt. Nach Paragraphen angeführt erscheint auch Kluges Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte, 2. Aufl., Halle 1899 (Kluge). Verweise auf Grimms Deutsche Grammatik (Grimm) geschehen nach dem neuen Abdruck (Band II besorgt von Scherer, III und IV von Roethe-Schroeder, Berlin-Gütersloh 1879—1899), aber nach den Seitenzahlen des ersten Abdrucks. Nach Paragraphen

* John Ries, Was ist Syntax? Marburg 1894.

führe ich ferner an Streitbergs *Urgermanische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1896) als U. G., Holthausens *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg 1899) als Holth., Behaghels *Syntax des Heliand* (Wien 1898) als Behaghel. Die Verweise auf Kluges *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Kluge Etw.) beziehen sich auf die sechste Auflage (Strassburg 1899).

3. Die Versangaben zum Heliand sind die in Sievers' Ausgabe (Halle 1878); wo nicht C (=Cottonianus) vermerkt, entstammen die Belege dem M (Monacensis); wo eine längere Reihe von Angaben aus dem Heliand zu machen war, sind die Belege aus M durch Semikolon geschieden, die aus C durch Querstrich verbunden. Gen. bedeutet die Genesisbruchstücke nach Zangemeister-Braune, Bruchstücke der altsächsischen Bibeldichtung aus der Bibliotheca Palatina, Heidelberg 1894. Für die Kleineren Denkmäler (Kl. Denkm.) ist Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler* (Norden 1899) zu Grunde gelegt; das vorzügliche Glossar der Ausgabe hat mir bei meiner Arbeit unschätzbare Dienste geleistet. Wo ein genauer Verweis erforderlich, geschieht das durch Seiten- und Zeilenangabe (z. B. W 15, 12=Wadstein, Seite 15, Zeile 12). Die Abkürzungen sind die von Wadstein gebrauchten; nur verwende ich für die Merseburger Glossen Mg (da M=Monacensis); die übrigen führe ich hier auf: A (Abecedarium Nordmannicum), B (Homilie Bedas), Bs (Beichtspiegel), E (Eltener Glossen), Ee (Essener Evangeliarglossen), Eh (Essener Heberolle), Fh (Freckenhorster Heberolle), G (Gregoriusglossen), Gh (Gandersheimer Glossen), I (Indiculus superstitionum), L (Lamspringer Glossen), Lv (Leidener Vegetiusglossen), Mg (Merseburger Glossen), P (St. Petrier Glossen), Pp (Pariser Prudentiusglossen), Pa (Psalmenauslegung), Pw (Werdener Prudentiusglossen), S (Strassburger Glossen), Sf (Segensformeln), T (Taufgelöbnis), Vo (Oxforder Vergilglossen), Vw (Wiener Vergilglossen), Wh (Werdener Heberolle).

Die übrigen Abkürzungen sind die gewöhnlichen oder erklären sich leicht aus dem Zusammenhang.

4. Normalisiert habe ich, besonders in der Wortbildungslehre, Einzelwörter und zwar in der Weise von Holthausens Altsächs. Elementarbuch*. Wo dagegen ein längerer Beleg zu geben ist, erfolgt der Abdruck genau nach den Ausgaben; nur sind die unnötigen und meist falschen Accente der Originale weggelassen. In eckigen Klammern erscheinen wie in Wadsteins Ausgabe die hochdeutschen Glossen in den Kleineren Denkmälern.

* Zu meinem Bedauern habe ich mich dazu verstehen müssen, für die stimmhafte labiale und dentale Spirans *bh* und *dh* einzusetzen, da die Beschaffung der entsprechenden gestrichenen Typen die ohnehin unliebsam hinausgeschobene Vollendung des Druckes noch länger verzögert hätte.

FORMENLEHRE.

FLEXION.

5. Hiezu ist nach W. Schlüter in Dieters Laut- und Formenlehre der altgermanischen Dialekte (Berlin 1898—1899) und Holthausens Altsächsischem Elementarbuch § § 349—379 hier nichts nachzutragen.

BILDUNGSLEHRE.

ABLEITUNG.

ADJECTIVA OHNE ABLEITUNGSSILBEN.

(Wilmanns II 307—319; Kluge 169—175; 179—183; 231—232).

6. Weitaus die grösste Zahl der as. Adjectiva gehören zu den *a*-Stämmen, primäre wie abgeleitete; z. B. *hwit* 'weiss'; *bômin* 'hölzern'; *himilisk* 'himmlisch'. Ebenso kommen die *ja*-Stämme, mit denen die auf *-i-* zusammengefallen sind, primär und secundär vor: *middi* 'mittler'; *ôdmôdi* 'demütig'. *u*-Stämme erscheinen nur primär. Deutlich erweist sich as. als solcher nur noch das indeclinable *filu* 'viel', got. *filu*, gr. πολύ. Aus andern germanischen Dialekten und indogermanischen Sprachen erhellen als ursprüngliche *u*-Stämme: *engi* 'eng', got. *aggwus* (lat. *angustus*, gr. ἄγχω 'schnüre zu'); *glau* 'klug', got. *glaggwus*; *hard* 'hart', got. *hardus*, gr. κρατός; *thiori* < * *thorri*, * *thurri* 'dürr', got. *þaursus* (Holth. 362 A. 1), *tulgo* adv. 'sehr', got. *tulgus* 'fest'; *quik* 'lebendig', ae. *cwucu*, *cucu*; *thunni* 'dünn', ai. *tanús* 'lang', gr. τανν- (vgl. lat. *tenuis* < *tenv-is*); *swôti* 'süss', ai. *swádú*, gr. ῥόδύς; vielleicht *flat* 'flach' zu gr. πλατός? Nach Kluge 181 dürfte man als alte *u*-Stämme betrachten: *drôbbhi* 'trübe'; *fast*, *festi* 'fest'; *fúht* 'feucht' (vgl. U. G. 129, 4); *strang* 'stark'.

swári 'schwer'; *trági* Pw, S 'träge'; *thunni* 'dünn'; *wôdhi* 'angenehm'; [ahd. *zihi* Pw 'zähe']. Im Declinationssystem sind diese zu den (*w*)*a*- und *ja*-Stämmen übergetreten.

ADJECTIVA NEBEN STARKEN VERBEN.

(Wilmanns II 309—310.)

7. *a*-Stämme. Mit Präsensvocal: *grim* 'grimmig', ahd. *grim(mi)*, zu mhd. *grimmen*; *siok* 'siech', got. *siuks*, zu got. *siukan*. — Mit Vocal des sing. praet.: *blék* 'glänzend', zu *bli-kan*; *frôd* 'klug', got. *frôþs*, zu got. *frapjan*; *gram* 'gram', 'feindlich', zu mhd. *grimmen* (vgl. *grim*); *lôs* 'los', zu *far-liosan*; *rôd* 'rot', got. *ráuþs*, zu ae. *réodan*, gr. *ἐρείθω*; *wék* 'schwach', zu *wíkan*. — Mit Vocal des part. praet.: *dol* 'thöricht', zu *for-dwelan* (vgl. got. *dwals*, zum sing. praet.); *bi-fang* 'umfassen von', zu *bi-fáhan*; *hol* 'hohl' (< 'bergend'), zu *helan*. — Mit im Verb nicht erscheinenden Ablautstufen: *lat* 'träge', zu *látan*; *gî-nôg* 'genug', got. *ga-nôhs*, zu got. *ga-nah*. — Mit modificiertem Auslaut: *krumb* 'krumm', zu mhd. *krimpfen*. — Mit germ. ('schwundstufigem', s. U. G. 96) *é*: *wár* 'wahr', ahd. *wári*, zu *wes*, s. Kluge Etw.

8. *ja*-(*i*-, *u*-) Stämme. Mit Präsensvocal: *rípi* 'reif', zu ae. *rípan*. — Mit Vocal des sing. praet.: *bi-tharbhi* 'nützlich', zu *tharf*. — Mit Vocal des pl. praet.: *drugî* 'trügerisch', zu *bi-driogan*; *luggi* 'lügnerisch', zu *liogan*; *nutti* 'nützlich', zu *nio-tan*. — Mit Vocal des part. praet.: *ant-héti* 'versprochen', 'verlobt', zu *ant-hétan*; **thorri* 'dürr', got. *þaúrsus*, vgl. got. *þaúrsnan*. — Mit germ. ('schwundstufigem', s. U. G. 96) *é*: *swári* 'schwer', zu ahd. *swëran* 'wehe thun', 'schwüren'; *trági* Pw, S 'träge', zu *tregan* 'leid sein'.

ADJECTIVA NEBEN SCHWACHEN VERBEN.

(Wilmanns II 311.)

9. Das Verhältnis zwischen Adjectiv- und Verbalstamm ist hier in der Regel loser als bei den starken Verben; oft ist das Verb abgeleitet. Die Belege folgen hier alphabetisch.

a-Stämme: (*wachs*-) *blank* '(wachs-)gelb', zu nhd. *blinken*; *blind* 'blind', zu ahd. *blenten*; *diop* 'tief', got. *diups*, zu got. *dáupjan*; (*god*-) *for(a)ht* '(gottes)fürchtig', zu *forhtian* und *✓perk* mit participialem *t*; *horsk* 'klug', zu got. *and-hruskan* 'erforschen' (U. G. 82 Anm.); *hrôr* 'rührig', zu ae. *hrórian*, got. **hrozjan*; *liof* 'lieb', zu *gi-lôbian*; *skarp* 'scharf', zu ahd. *scrë-vôn* und *scarbôn*; *stark* 'stark', zu got. *ga-staúrknan*, ahd. *storchanén*; *gi-tal* 'schnell', ahd. *ga-zal*, zu *tellian*, *talôn*, *✓del dol* *dl* wie in lat. *dolus*, gr. *δαίδαλος δηλόμαι* u. a.; *wand* 'veränderlich' zu *wendian*.

ja-(*i*-, *u*-) Stämme: *un-fôdi* 'unersättlich', zu *fôdian*; *gi-frági* 'kund', zu *frágôn*; *hriuwi* 'traurig', zu *hriuwôn*; *sômi* 'passend', zu ae. *séman* < **sómjan*; *spáhi* 'klug', zu ahd. *spëhôn*; *spildi* 'verschwenderisch', zu ae. *spillan*; *triuwi* 'treu', zu *trúôn*; *thunni* 'dünn', zu got. *þanjan*, ahd. *dennen* und *donén*; *ana-wáni* 'verdächtig', zu *wánian*, oder auch als denominative Ableitung zn Substantiv *wán* (s. § 10).

DENOMINATIVE ADJECTIVA AUF -i-

(Wilmanns II 312.)

10. Ohne Bedeutungswandel tritt *-ja-* an einige idg. *o*-Stämme; z. B. *middi* 'mittler' zu **medo*, vgl. ahd. *mëtal*, *më-tamo* (aber ai. *mádkyas*, lat. *medius*); *niuwi* 'neu' zu gr. *νέφος*, lat. *novus*.

Während andere Dialekte, vorab Ahd., neben *a*-Stämmen oftmals secundäre Bildungen auf *-ja-* zeigen, zieht das As. entschieden die einfachen Formen vor (vgl. auch § 31 f.); jedoch erscheinen auch Doppelformen, wie *blêdh* (erwiesen durch Comparativ *blêdhora* und M 4872) — *blêdhi* 'blöde'; *fast* — *festi* 'fest'; *hrén* — *hréni* 'rein'; *skír* — *skíri* 'rein'; *swídh* — *swídhí* 'stark'; *tóm* — *tómi* 'frei von'; *therp* — *thervi* 'ungesäuert'. Composita verlangen as. immer den reinen Stamm: *slêdkword*, *thristmôd*, *fékanlíko*.

a-Stämme, wo andere Dialecte *-ja-* oder Doppelformen haben: *ald* 'alt', got. *alpeis*; *fagar* 'schön', ahd. *fagar(i)*; *fern*

‘alt’, got. *fairneis*, ahd. *virni*; *gern* ‘begierig’, ahd. *gërni*; *hër* ‘hehr’, ahd. *hëri*; *skarp* ‘scharf’, ahd. *searph* (*i*); *strang* ‘stark’, ahd. *strengi*; *ubhil* ‘übel’, ahd. *ubil* (*i*); *wâr* ‘wahr’, ahd. *wâri*; *wih* ‘heilig’, ahd. *wih* (*i*); *wis* ‘weise’, ahd. *wîsi*.

Umgekehrt zeigt das As. nur *i* neben Doppelform im Ahd. in *sûbhari* ‘sauber’, ahd. *sûbar* (*i*). Vgl. auch unten § 14, 5: *blidhi*, *blôdh* (*i*), *swidh* (*i*).

i-Formen neben Substantiven: *edili* ‘edel’ zu ahd. *adal* n., *rîki* ‘mächtig’ zu got. *reiks*; *slidhi* ‘verderblich’ zu got. *sleiþa*; *sprâki* ‘Sprache habend’ zu *sprâka*; *stôri* ‘gross’ zu got. *stiur*; *swigli* ‘glänzend’ zu ae. *sweȝl* ‘Himmel’; *ana-uâni* ‘verdächtig’ zu *wân* (s. § 9, Ende); *wôsti* ‘wüst’ zu ahd. *wuost*. — Neben Adverb: *nidhiri* ‘unterer’ zu *nidhar*.

As. *i*-Bildungen neben anderen Ableitungssilben: *frédhi* ‘abtrünnig’, ahd. *freidig*; *hriwi* ‘traurig’ neben *hriwig*; *spâni* ‘spanisch’ neben **spânisk*; *tômi* ‘frei von’ neben *tômig*; *thâhi* ‘irden’ neben *thâhîn*.

ZUSAMMENBILDUNGEN AUF -a- UND -ja-.

(Wilmanns II 313; Kluge 176—177).

11. Wie das Ahd. zeigt auch das As. in den sog. Bahu-vrîhibildungen (mutierten Composita) Vorliebe für das -ja-Suffix in nominalen Zusammensetzungen und Schwanken zwischen -a- und -ja- bei Partikelcomposita.

Zusammensetzung mit Nomen, Pronomen und Zahlwort: *bodan-brâwi* ‘triefäugig’ zu *brâha* ‘Braue’; *fitil-fôt* ? Vo, an einer Stelle als Uebersetzung von *petilus* = ‘dürr’, ‘mager’, an einer andern von *vestigia alba primi pedis* = ‘weissfüssig’ (*fitil*, ahd. *fezzil*, ‘Teil des untern Pferdebeines’, vgl. Wilmanns II 208,2), zu *fôt*; *helag-ferah* ‘eine heilige Seele habend’, sowie *mid-firi* ‘in der Mitte des Lebens stehend’ zu *ferah* ‘Geist’, ‘Leben’; *wandal-hûti* ‘die Haut verwandelnd’, ‘verschlagen’ zu *hût* ‘Haut’; *eli-lendi* ‘fremd’ zu *land* ‘Land’; *ôd-môdi* ‘demütig’ und *slidh-môd* ‘grimmen Sinnes’ zu *môd* ‘Sinn’; *gôd-sprâki* ‘wohlredend’ zu *sprâka* ‘Sprache’; *én-wordi* ‘einstimmig’ und *slidh-wurdi* ‘bösesredend’ zu *word* ‘Wort’.

Partikel-Composita: *missi-faro* 'bunt' zu *farawi* 'Farbe'; *gi-garu* 'fertig' zu *garu* 'bereit'; *bi-lang* 'hinreichend', 'verbunden', (engl. *to belong*) und *gi-lang* 'sich erstreckend' zu *lang* 'lang'; *ge-lik* 'gleich' zu *lik* 'Körper', 'Fleisch', vgl. jedoch § 43,1; *ge-lubhi* 'willig' zu ae. *lufe* 'Liebe' (Heynes Conjectur); *gi-mako* 'Genosse', *un-gi-mak* 'feindlich'; *un-gi-met* 'unangemessen', zu ahd. *mēz* 'Mass'; [ahd. *ab-skelli* 'albern']; *gi-swāsi* 'verbündet' zu *swās* 'blutsverwandt'; *gi-triuwi* 'getreu' zu *triuwi* 'treu'; *ana-wāni* 'verdächtig' zu *wān* 'Hoffnung', 'Glaube'; *gi-war* 'gewahr' zu *war* 'vorsichtig'; *gi-wāri* 'wahrhaft' zu *wār* 'wahr'.

Die *lik*-, *fald*- und *mōd*-Bildungen behandeln §§ 36, 2; 37; 43-47 (Composition.)

ISOLIERTE ADJECTIVA.

(Wilmanns II 317-318.)

12. Unter isolierten Adjectiven sind solche zu verstehen, die kein im Germanischen lebendiges Ableitungssuffix zeigen und auch nicht fühlbar mit Nominal- und Verbalstämmen in Beziehung stehen. Sie erscheinen hier nach dem Auslaut geordnet (vgl. Wilmanns II 170).

13. *a*-Stämme. — 1. auf Vocal, *j*, *w*: *bláo* 'blau', ahd. *bláo bláwēr*, l. *flávus*? *frá frô* 'froh', gen. **fráwes*, *fráhes*; *frí* (-*lik*) 'freigeboren', 'lieblich', got. *freis*; *glao* 'klug', got. *glaggwus*; (*appul*-)*gré* 'grau', ahd. *gráo*; *hré* 'wild', ae. *hréo(w)*, Stamm **kraw* (vgl. gr. *κρέας*, lat. *caro* < *carvo*, *cruor*); *quik* 'lebendig', got. *gius*, lat. *vivus*; *sleu* 'stumpf', 'feige', zu lat. *laevus*, gr. *λαῖός* < *λαῖφός*.

2. auf *l*: *smal* 'klein', got. *smals*; *snel* 'rasch', 'kühn', ahd. *snel* (< *l* + *n*? s. Kluge 228); *sinu-wel* 'ganz rund', zu ae. *hweol* 'Rad' (*√ wel* wie in lat. *volvare*, gr. *εἰλέω*, vgl. Welle 1) = rundes Holz, 2) = Wasserwoge, s. dazu Kluge Etw.); — auf *ll* < *l* + *n*: *ful*, *fol* 'voll', got. *fulls*, ai. *purnás*, lat. *plénus*.

auf *r*: *fer* 'fern' < *ferr*, got. *fairra*, Wechsel mit *rn*, vgl. as. *fern*, got. *fairneis* (U. G. 127 A 3 Anm. 2 S. 140); *war* 'gewahr', vgl. gr. *ὀπάω*; *wār* 'wahr', ahd. *wāri*, lat. *vérus*.

3. auf *m*: *lam* 'lahm' (dazu ahd. *luomi* 'schlaff', neufränkisch *lummerig*, ne. *limber*); *thim* 'dunkel', s. Kluge Etw. *dümmern*, ae. *dim*; *tam* 'zahn', vgl. lat. *domare*; — auf *mm*: *stum* 'stumm' (<*m*+*n*? s. Kluge 228).

4. auf *s*: *bar* 'offenbar', germ. Stamm **baza*; *blas* 'weiss'; *grīs* 'grau'; *swās* 'blutsverwandt'.

5. auf labiale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *dumb* 'dumm', got. *dumbs*; *háf* 'an den Händen gelähmt', got. *hamfs*, vgl. gr. κάμπ-μος, κάμπ-ύλος 'gebogen', 'gekrümmt'; *half* 'halb', got. *halbs*; *léf* 'gebrechlich'; *liof* 'lieb', got. *liufs*; *róf* 'berühmt'; *stráf* 'struppig'; *therp* 'ungesäuert'.

6. auf dentale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *bald* 'kühn', got. *balps*; *blind* 'blind', got. *blinds*; *bréd* 'breit', got. *bráids*; -*fald* 'faltig', ahd. *falt*; *flat* 'flach', ahd. *flaz*; *glad* (*mól*) 'froh', ahd. *glat*; *gól* 'gut', got. *góds*; *grót* 'gross', ahd. *gróz*; *hét* 'heiss', ahd. *heiz*; *hwit* 'weiss', got. *hweits*; *lédh* 'leidig', 'böse', ahd. *leid* (vgl. Kluge Etw.); *lut* 'wenig', ae. *lyt*; *gi-méd* 'thöricht', ahd. *gi-meit*; *slíht* 'schlecht', ahd. *sléht*; (*un*)-*spód* '(nicht) frommend', ahd. (*un*)-*spuot*; *gi-sund* 'gesund', ahd. *gi-sunt*; *swart* 'schwarz', got. *swarts*; *wíd* 'weit', ahd. *wít*; *wrédh* 'kummervoll', 'feindlich', ae. *wráþ*. Nach Kluge 223 ist participialer Ursprung anzunehmen bei *forht*, *gi-méd*, *gi-sund* und *wíd*.

7. auf gutturale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *blak* 'schwarz', ae. *blæc* (vgl. gr. φλεγ-φλογ 'brennen'); *féh* 'bunt', got. *filu-fáihš* gr. ποικίλος; *gáh* (*un*) 'jäh', ahd. *gáhi*; *hóh* 'hoch', got. *háuhš*; *lang* 'lang', got. *laggs*; *náh* 'nahe', ahd. *náh*, doch vgl. § 15; *slak* 'feige', ahd. *slah*; *stark* 'stark', ahd. *starch*; *strang* 'stark', ahd. *strengi*; *wih-* (in Composita) 'heilig', got. *weihs*; *wlank* 'kraftvoll', ahd. *wlanch*.

14. *ja*-(*i*-, *u*-) Stämme. — 1. auf *w*: *niuwī* 'neu', got. *niujis*, gr. νέφος.

2. auf *l*: *filu* 'viel', got. *filu*, gr. πολύ.

auf *r*: *diuri* 'teuer', ahd. *tūri*; *hiuri* 'geheuer', an. *hyrr*, vgl. Kluge; *lári* 'leer', ahd. *lári*, verwandt mit got. *lasiws*? s. Kluge Etw.; *mári* 'berühmt', got. *mērs*, gr. ἐγχεσί-μωρος.

3. auf s: *irri* 'zornig', got. *airzeis* (vgl. lat. *errare* < **er-sare*).

4. auf labiale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *derbhi* (*thervi* P) 'heftig', 'ungesäuert', ahd. *derp*, ae. *þeorf*; *drôbbi* 'trübe', ahd. *truobi*.

5. auf dentale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *blîdhi* 'glänzend', got. *bleips*; *blôdhi* 'zag', got. *bláuþs*; *fast*, *festi* 'fest', ahd. *festi*; *hard* 'hart', got. *hardus*, gr. *καρύς*; *hôti* 'feindlich'; *middi* 'mittler', got. *midjis*, lat. *medius*; *mildi* 'gnädig', got. *mildeis*; *ôdhi* 'leicht', ae. *éape* adv.; *swîdh(i)* 'stark', got. *swinþs*; *swôti* 'süss', got. *suts*, ai. *svádú*; *thristi* 'kühn', ae. *þriste*; *wôsti* 'wüst', ahd. *wuosti*, lat. *vastus*.

6. auf gutturale Verschluss- und Reibelaute: *fégi* 'dem Tode verfallen', ae. *fæȝe*; (*gáhi?* vgl. §13,7); *riki* 'mächtig', got. *reiks*; *strang* 'stark', ahd. *strengi* (vgl. §13,7); *bi-tengi* 'eng verbunden', ahd. *gi-zengi*, dazu auch ahd. *záhi* 'zähe'; *trági* 'träge'; *thikki* 'dicht', ahd. *dicchi*.

ADJECTIVA MIT ABLEITENDEN SUFFIXEN.

(Wilmanns II 320—360.)

w- ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 320; Kluge 186—187).

15. *aru* 'bereit', ae. *earu*; desgl. *garu* < **ge-aru*, ahd. *garo*; *balu(-hugdig)* 'übel(gesinnt)', ae. *bealu*; *blî* S 'farbig', ae. *bleoh*; *engi* 'eng', got. *aggwus*, zu gr. *ἄγγελος*, lat. *angéle*; *falû* 'fahl', 'falb', gr. *παλιός*, lat. *palleo*; *-faro* 'farbig', ahd. *-faro*; *gelo* 'gelb', lat. *helvus*, zu *√ ghel* wie in *glühen*, *Gold*; *glau* 'klug', got. *glaggwus*; *mirki* 'düster', an. *myrke*, *myrkvi*; *naru* 'eng', ae. *nearu*; *náh* 'nahe', got. *néhw*; *triuwi* 'treu', got. *triggwus*. Hierher gehört als Farbenadj. (vgl. Kluge 186, b) wohl auch *glasô* Vo. 'Grauschimmel' (nach Wadstein schw. Mas. oder Adj. in schwacher Flexion).

l- ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 321; Kluge 189—193.)

16. — 1. Als besondere Gruppe erscheinen Adjectiva, die Neigung oder Hang zu etwas bezeichnen, vgl. gr. *σιγῆλος* 'schweigsam' zu *σιγῆ*, lat. *bibulus* 'dem Trunke ergeben' zu *bibō*. Das Suffix ist got. *-ul*, ahd. *-al*, as. *-ol -ul*. Zu starken Verben gehören: *stekul* 'steil', ahd. *stecchal-steigal*, zu *stigan*; zu schwachen: *hatul* 'hassend', ahd. *hazzal*, nach Kluge an *hātôn* angelehnt für eigentliches *atul*, ae. *atol*, zu lat. *ôdi* 'hasse'; *wankol* 'wankelmütig', ahd. *wankal*, zu *wankôn*; *wandal-hûti* P 'die Haut verwandelnd', 'verschlagen', zu *wandlôn* und *wendian*.

2. Zu Substantiven gehören: *edili* 'edel', ahd. *edili*, zu Stamm *op ap* 'Erbsitz', ae. *éad*; *fravol* 'hartnäckig', ahd. *fravili*, zu got. **fra-afls* oder **fra-abls*, an. *afl* 'Stärke', also 'zu stark' (Kluge Etw).

3. *il*-Suffix lassen erkennen: *luttil* 'klein', got. *leitils*, Diminutiv zu *lut*, ae. *lyt?* (vom gleichen Stamme *luttik* 'klein' und ahd. *luzzen* 'verkleinern', 'schmälern'); *mikil* 'gross', got. *mikils*, gr. *μεγαλ-*; *middil-* in *middil-gard* 'Erde' (einziges as. Beispiel für *l*-Suffix statt einfacherer Bildung, vgl. die ahd. Belege bei Wilmanns II 321 Anm. 1); *ubhil* 'übel', got. *ubils*, zu Stamm **ubja*; [ahd. *gi-zwinel* P 'doppelt', 'Zwilling'].

4. Isolierte: *gêl* 'mutwillig', ahd. *geil*; *hêl* 'heil', got. *háils*; *īdal* 'leer', ahd. *ītal*; *twīfli* 'zweifelnd', ahd. *zwīfal*. — Zu *gamal*, das as. nur in *gi-gamal-ôd* erscheint, vgl. U. G. S. 371, Nachtrag zu §143 A, S. 168.

r- ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 322—323; Kluge 194—197.)

17. — 1. *r*-Suffix ohne erkenntliche charakteristische, ursprünglich wohl mit activer Bedeutung.

a. Zu Verben gehören: *bittar* 'bitter', got. *báitrs* (auf alten Betonungswechselweisend), zu *bītan*; *fagar* 'schön', got. *fagrs*, zu got. *fulla-fahjan* (weist auf Suffixbetonung); *lungar*

'schnell', ahd. *lungar*, zu $\sqrt{\text{lengh}}$ (wozu auch *gi-lingan* und *liht*, s. Hempl, Modern Language Notes Bd. XIV S. 45 ff.) *skîr(i)* 'klar', got. *skeirs*, zu *skînan*.

b. Andere *a*-Stämme: **ádar* (adv. *ádro*) 'schnell', ahd. *átar*; *dunkar* 'dunkel', ahd. *dunkar dunkal* (Wechsel mit *l*-Suffix kommt as. nicht vor); *finistar* 'finster', ahd. *finstar dinstar* (beide mit Wechselverhältnis zwischen *f* und *p* aus $\sqrt{\text{pem}}$, vgl. Kluge 216 und Etw. *finster*); [ahd. *frazor* P 'trotzig']; *hédar* 'heiter', ai. *citrás*, (mit *tr*-Suffix), und *hér* 'hehr', ahd. *hér(i)*, zu got. **hai-ra* 'glänzend', got. *hais* n. 'Fackel'; *hluttar* 'lauter', got. *hlútrs* (vgl. gr. κλύζειν); *jámar* 'leidvoll', ae. *zéomor*, gr. ἡμερος 'sanft'; *sér* 'schmerzlich', got. *sáir* n.; **smultar* (adv. *smultro*) 'heiter', ae. *smolt*, *smylt*.

c. Die *ja*-Stämme, die allenfalls hierher gehören, sind § 14,2 aufgeführt.

d. Fremdwörter: *sikor* 'sicher', ahd. *sihhur*, < lat. *secúrus*; *súbhar(i)* 'sauber', ahd. *súbar*, *súbiri*, < vulgärlat. *súber* < *sóbrus*, s. Kluge Etw.

18. — 2. Vergleichendes *r*- und *tr*-Suffix.

a. Zu Localadverbien, mit *-r*: *obhoro* A. 'ober' zu *obha*, *obhan*; mit *-tr*: *fordhero* 'vorder', 'Vorfahr', zu *fore*, *fora*; *hindiro* 'hinter' zu *hindar*; *nidhiri* 'unter', zu *nidhar*, s. Wilmanns II 323, 2, Anm. 1; *sundar* (an *sundron*) 'besonder', vgl. Wilmanns a. a. O., Anm. 2.

b. Mit *-tr*-, vgl. das griechische Comparativsuffix -τερο-, erscheinen noch: *hwedhar* 'einer von beiden', got. *hwaþar*; *ôdhar* (*andar*, *ádhar*) 'ander' (Grimms Annahme III 635–6, dass dies ein Comparativ, widerlegt die durchgängig starke Flexion; vgl. § § 62; 63, 2); *winistar* 'link', *-tr*- nach comparativischem *s*, lat. *sinister*, gr. ἀριστερός.

m- ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 324; Kluge 184—185.)

19. — 1. Vergleichendes *m*-Suffix, wie im lat. Superlativ, findet sich as. nur in *formo* 'der erste', Doppelform zu got. *fruma*, s. U. G. 82 Anm., ahd. *fruma* 'Vorteil'.

2. Erkenntlich ist *m*-Suffix noch in *sniumi* 'behend', zu got. *sniwan*, adv. *sniumo sliumo*. Silbenbildend tritt es auf in *wānam* 'glänzend' zu *wān* 'Glanz', aisl. *vænn* 'schön'. Isoliert erscheint es in *arm* 'arm', got. *arms*; *harm* 'leid', ae. *hearm*, (verwandt mit mhd. *hare*, *here* — *w*-Suffix, — nhd. *herb*, s. Wilmanns II 320,1); [ahd. *gast-luomi* P gastfrei]; *rūmo* adv. 'weit', 'entfernt', zu got. *rūms*; *tōmi* 'frei von', an. *tómr* 'leer'; *warm* 'warm', got. *warms* (vgl. ai. *hāras* 'Glut', gr. *θερος* 'Sommer', und ai. *gharmās*, gr. *θερμός*, lat. *formus* 'warm', U. G. 112 Ende).

n- ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 325—328; Kluge 198—200; 227—230.)

1. PARTICIPIAL- UND ISOLIERTE ADJECTIVA NACH DER *a*-DECLINATION.

(Wilmanns II 325; Kluge 227—228).

20. — a. Die mit *n*-Suffix gebildeten Verbaladjectiva sind im Germanischen als charakteristische Formen der starken Verba fest ins Conjugationssystem aufgenommen. Manche alten Formen haben sich zu speciell adjectivischer Bedeutung isoliert, indem als Particip eine neue Form gebildet wurde, die sich fühlbarer an Verbstamm oder Conjugationsmuster anschloss, z. B. *gi-thigan* 'gediehen', 'erwachsen', zu *thihan* 'gedeihen' — *githungan* 'gediegen'; *ōkan* 'schwanger' < 'vermehrt' zu ae. *ēacan* 'wachsen'. Der Infinitiv kann verlorengegangen sein, wie bei *ōlan* 'verliehen'. Oder es tritt ein Participialadjectiv auf, zu dem nie ein Infinitiv existierte, wie *ana-gi-boran* P 'angeboren'. Auch Bedeutungsverschiebung, die das Genus des Verbums betrifft, kann eintreten, wie bei *drunkan*, nicht

‘getrunken’, sondern ‘einer der zu viel getrunken hat = betrunken’, vgl. unser *ein Bedienter* = ‘ein Diener’, nicht = ‘einer dem gedient wird’. In fühlbarer Beziehung zum Verb steht *égan* ‘eigen’ zu *égan* ‘besitzen’.

21. — b. Isolierte *a*-Stämme: *wirt-brún* Vo (vgl. Steinmeyer, AfdA XXVI S. 210) ‘kastanienbraun’, ahd. *wirz-brún*, s. Glossen III 684,36; *dosan* Vo ‘kastanienbraun’; **drokan* (adv. *drokno*) ‘trocken’, ahd. *truckan*, ae. *dryȝe*; *dun* Vo ‘schwarzbraun’; *ebhan* ‘eben’, got. *ibns* (vielleicht *ebhni*? vgl. *emnia* Ee, *emnista* Pa); *éwan* ‘ewig’, vgl. lat. *aevus*; *fagan* ‘freudig’, ae. *fæȝen*; *fern* ‘alt’, ‘vorig’, got. *faírneis*, zu *fer* ‘fern’, vgl. U. G. 127 A 3, Anm. 2, S. 140); *frókan* ‘kühn’, ae. *fréene*; *gern* ‘begehrend’, ahd. *gêrn* und *gër*; *mén* ‘frevelhaft’, ahd. *mein*; *opan* ‘offen’, ahd. *offan*; **ségan* (adv. *ségno*) ‘langsam’, got. **sáins* zu *sáinjan* ‘säumen’; [ahd. *sêltan* Ee ‘unerhört’, zu *seld-lik*]; *skín* ‘sichtbar’, ‘strahlend’, ahd. *scín*, (vgl. *skír* § 17 a); *torn* ‘leidvoll’, ae. *torn*; *wan* ‘leer’, got. *wans*.

Assimilation von *n* zu *l*: *al(l)* ‘all’, got. *alls*, zu *alan* ‘wachsen’; *ful(l)* ‘voll’ zu **pl-ne*, lat. *plénus*, s. Kluge 228; — von *n* zu *m*: *stum* ‘stumm’? s. § 13,3; *grim* ‘grimmig’?

Auch *én* ‘ein’, got. *áins*, zeigt *n*-Suffix.

2. VERBAL- UND ISOLIERTE ADJECTIVA AUF -i (-ja.)

(Wilmanns II 326; Kluge 229–230.)

22. *Gré-blíni* ‘graufarbig’ zu *bli* ‘Farbe’; *derni* ‘heimlich’, ahd. *tarni*; *ebhni*? ‘eben’ (s. *ebhan* § 21); *fékni* ‘hinterlistig’, ae. *fæene*; *frékni* ‘kühn’ zu *frókan* (s. § 21); *gróni* ‘grün’, ae. *gréne*, zu ae. *grówan* ‘wachsen’; *hrén(i)* ‘rein’, got. *hráins*, zu gr. *κρῖν-ειν* ‘sichten’; *kléni* Pw ‘zierlich’, ‘scharfsinnig’, ahd. *kleini*; *léhni* ‘vergänglich’ < ‘leihbar’, zu *lihwan* ‘leihen’; *gi-mén(i)* ‘gemeinsam’, got. *ga-máins*; *skóni* ‘schön’ < ‘schaubar’, ‘ansehnlich’, ahd. *scóni*, zu *skawôn*. Grundbedeutung ist die Möglichkeit, während -*na*- den vollendeten Zustand bezeichnet.

Assimiliert ist *n* mit *l* in *stilli* ‘still’, ahd. *stilli*, vgl. Kluge Etw.

3. DENOMINATIVE BILDUNGEN AUF *-in*.

(Wilmanns II 327—328; Kluge 193—200.)

23. — a. Stoffbezeichnungen zu Namen aus dem Tier-, Pflanzen- und Mineralreiche: *aharín* 'aus Aehren' zu ahd. *ahir*; *binitín* 'aus Binsen', ahd. *binuzín* zu *binuz*; *bômin* 'hölzern' zu *bôm*; *brôdin* 'aus Brot' zu *brôd*; *érín* 'chern' zu ahd. *ér*; *eskin* 'eschen' zu ae. *æsc*; *evenín* 'aus Hafer' zu einem Lehnwort aus lat. *avêna*; *gerdín* 'aus Gerten' zu *gerdia*; *gerstín* *girstin* 'aus Gerste' zu *gersta*; *glesín* P 'gläsern' zu *glas*; *gul lín* 'golden' zu *gold*; *hridharín* 'vom Rinde'; *ísarnín* 'eisern' zu *ísara*; *lidharín* 'ledern' zu ahd. *lēder*; *linín* 'leinen'; *mapuldrín* 'ahornen' zu *mapulder*; *ruggín* 'aus Roggen' zu *roggo*; *silubhrín* 'silbern' zu *silubhar*; *tháhín* 'irden' (vgl. § 10, Ende].

b. Zugehörigkeit allgemeinerer Art: *éwín* 'ewig', got. *áiws* (vgl. *éwan* § 21); *hédhín* 'heidnisch', ahd. *heidan*, zu ahd. *heida*; *kristín* 'christlich' zu *Krist*.

c. Hang zu etwas: *nídhín* 'feindlich' zu *nídh*; *strídrín* 'streithaft' zu *stríd*.

d. Benennungen der Himmelsgegenden: *ôstróni* 'östlich'; *westróni* 'westlich'; s. Grimm II 181; Kluge 217, wo es mit lat. *-âneus* (*extrâneus*) verglichen wird.

e. Verbindungen von *-in* mit anderen ableitenden Suffixen erscheinen in *hatilín* Ee 'verhasst' (vielleicht mit Bedeutungs-differenzierung zu *hatul* 'hassend'); *rosoli* Pw 'rötlich'.

s-ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 329—335.)

24. Diese erscheinen im As. nur zur Bildung der Steigerungsformen, die Holthausen 366—372 erschöpfend behandelt.

t-ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 336—340; Kluge 221—226; 233—235).¹

1. PARTICIPIAL- UND ISOLIERTE ADJECTIVA NACH DER *a*-DECLINATION.

(Wilmanns II 336—338; Kluge 221—226.)

25. Die Bildungen mit idg. *t* laufen insofern den *n*- Ableitungen parallel, als auch sie vielfach Verbaladjectiva sind und zwar zum System der schwachen Conjugation gehören wie die *n*-Bildungen zu dem der starken.

a. Adjectiva, in denen sich *-to-* mit der Wurzel zur Silbeneinheit verbindet.

α. Zu starken Verben: *ald* 'alt', got. *alpeis*, zu *alan*; *dôd* 'tot', got. *dáuþs*, zu got. *diwan*; *haft* 'gefesselt', got. *hafts*, zu got. *hafjan* (wie lat. *captus* zu *capiô*); *kald* 'kalt', got. *kalds*, zu æ. *calan*; *kúdh* 'kund', got. *kunþs*, zu *kunnan*; *liht* (*lîk*) 'leicht', got. *leihts*, zu *gilingan* (vgl. *lungar* § 17, a); *skard* 'zerhauen', ahd. *skart*, zu ahd. *scëran*; *wis* 'gewiss' und *wis* 'weise', got. *weis*, zu *witan wáit*; *wund* 'verwundet', got. *wunds*, zu *winnan*.

β. Zu schwachen Verben: *fús* 'bereit', ahd. *funs*, zu *fundôn* 'eilen'; *hwat* 'scharf', zu got. *hwatjan* 'wetzen'.

γ. Isoliert: *ber(a)ht* 'glänzend', got. *bairhts*; *-fald* 'falt', 'fältig', ahd. *falt*; *feraht* 'weise' zu *ferah* 'Geist'; *-foraht* 'fürchtig' zu *✓ perk*; *fáht* 'feucht'; *halt* 'lahm', got. *halts*; *hlád* 'laut' zu gr. *κλέειν*; *hold* 'hold', got. *hulþs* (die Schwundstufenform der Wurzel erscheint in lat. *cl-émens*, s. U. G. 81,1); *-kund* 'gezeugt', got. *kunds*, zu *✓ gen*; *lioht* 'licht' zu *✓ luc*, lat. *lucére*; *reht* 'recht', got. *raíhts*, zu lat. *rectus regere*; *sad* 'satt' zu *✓ sa*, gr. *ἀίμεναι*; **sáft* (adv. *sáfto*) 'bequem' (vielleicht zu got. *sanjon*, s. Kluge Etw. *sanft*); *torht* 'glänzend', ahd. *zorah* zu gr. *δέκκομαι*; (*helm-gi-*)*trôst(eo)* 'Helmgetroster', an. *traustr*, zu *trúôn*; *werdh* 'wert', got. *waírþs* (zu *✓ wor*, s. Kluge Etw.)

26.—b. Adjectiva mit Vocal vor dem Suffix. Dazu gehören alle Participia zu schwachen Verben, ausserdem eine Reihe ursprünglicher Participia, die durch den Untergang des Infinitivs isoliert sind, ferner eine Anzahl denominativer nach participialem Muster gebildeter Adjectiva: *gihávid* 'gelähmt', neben *háf*; *-hurnid* 'mit Hörnern versehen', zu *horn*; *gihugid* 'mit Sinn begabt', zu *hugi*; *gifrôdôd* 'gealtert', zu *frôd* und

**frôdôn*; *gigamalôd* 'gealtert', zu *gamal* (s. *gamal* §16,4) und **gamalôn*; *gihêrôd* 'hochgestellt' zu *hêr* und **hêrôn*; *bilamôd* 'gelähmt' zu *lam* und **lamôn*; *gilêbhôd* 'gelähmt', zu *lêf* und **lêbhôn*.

2. VERBAL- UND ISOLIERTE ADJECTIVA AUF -i- (-ja-)

(Wilmanns II 339; Kluge 233—234.)

27.—a. Zu starken Verben: *lidhi* 'lind', ahd. *lindi*, zu got. *af-linnan*; zu schwachen: *môdhi* 'müde', ahd. *muodi*, zu ahd. *muoen*.

b. Isoliert: *slidhi* 'verderblich', got. *sleiþs*, zu *sleiþa*; *thristi* 'kühn', ae. *þriste*; *wildi* 'wild', got. *wilþeis*; vielleicht auch *blôdhi* und *ôdhi* (s. § 14, 5).

c. Mit eingeschobenem Vocal von Adverb: *fremidhi* 'fremd', got. *framaps*, zu *fram* 'fern', 'vorwärts'.

d. Eigen sind dem As. in S und P participiale Bildungen auf -*odi*, neben denen jedoch kein Infinitiv existiert, und die ein Vershensein mit etwas bezeichnen: *hovarodi* 'höckerig'; *hólodi* 'bruchleidend'; *hringodi* 'geringelt'; *koppodi* 'mit Kamm versehen'; *sprátodi* 'gesprenkelt'; *wittodi?* 'mit einer Kopfbinde versehen'. Die anderen germanischen Dialecte zeigen statt dessen -*oht*; vgl. § 32.

3. *n+t*-ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 340; Kluge 235).

28.—a. *n+t* bildet schon im Idg. active Participia. As. wie ahd. sind diese Participia zu *ja*-Stämmen geworden. Eine gesonderte Gruppe bilden nur einige starke ursprünglich participiale Masculina auf -*nd*, wie *fiond* 'Feind', got. *fijands*, zu got. *fijan* 'hassen' (vgl. lat. *péior* 'schlechter', U. G. 91); *friund* 'Freund', got. *frijóns*, zu got. *frijôn* 'lieben'; *héleand* 'Heiland', zu *hélcan*; *kostônd* 'Versucher' zu *kostôn*; *neriand* 'Schützer', got. *nasjands*, zu *nerian*; *waldand* 'Walter' zu *waldan*; *wígand* 'Krieger' zu *wíg* (zu lat. *vincere*).

b. Isoliert steht *sôdh* 'wahr', ahd. *sand*, idg. **s-nt* zu *ves*.

c. *men* + *to* erscheint in *mishliumandi(g)* 'berüchtigt', zu gr. *κλέειν* (vgl. *hlūd* § 25 γ), *mádhmundi* 'heiter', ahd. *mammunti*, zu *mendian*.

d-ABLEITUNGEN.

(Wilmanns II 341).

29. Davon as. nur ein Beispiel: *ag(a)lêto* adv. 'emsig', ahd. *agaleizi*, got. *aglâits*.

ABLEITUNGEN MIT IDG. *q(k)*.

(Wilmanns II 342—360; Kluge 203—213).

30. Vereinzelte *k*-Bildungen zeigen sich in *jung* 'jung', got. *juggs*, lat. *iuvenus*; *abhuh* 'verkehrt', 'böse', ahd. *abuh*, wo allein es als *h* erscheint, an. *öfugr*, zu ahd. *aba*, got. *af*; desgl. mit Mittelvocal *-i* *luttik* 'klein'.

31. Sonst ist die Ableitung durchsichtiger und bedient sich durchgängig der Suffixe *-ig* und *-ag*. Eine klare Scheidung im Gebrauch derselben ist kaum durchzuführen; doch schliesst sich *-ig* vorwiegend an feminine *ô*- und *i*-Stämme sowie an *i*-Masculina an; andere Masculina und die Neutra geben *-ag* den Vorzug. *-ung* statt *-ag* erscheint in *alung* 'ganz', 'ewig'; häufiger stellt es sich ein in Adverbien wie *darn(ung)o* 'heimlich'; *fârungo* 'plötzlich'; *gegnungo* 'offenbar'; *wissungo* 'gewiss'.

a. Mit Substantiven verbindet sich ableitendes *-ig -ag* in *af-unstig* 'missgünstig' zu *af-unst* f.; *blôdag* 'blutig' zu *blôd* n.; *in-burdig* 'eingeboren' zu *-burd* f.; *-dâdig* '-thätig' zu *dâd* f.; *drôrag* 'blutig', zu *drôr* m.; *erdhag* 'erdig' zu *erdha* f.; *êttarag* 'eiternd' zu *êttar* n.; *êwig* 'ewig' zu got. *âiws* m. (vgl. *éwan* § 21, *éwîn* § 23 b); *fluhtig* 'flüchtig' zu *fluht* f.; *frédhig* 'abtrünnig' zu *édh* m.; *gibhidhig* 'verliehen' zu *gibha* f.; *grâdag* 'gefrässig', got. *grédags*, zu got. *grédus* m.; *hriuwig* 'reuig' zu *hriuwa* f.; *hrottig* 'rotzig' zu ahd. *roz* m.; *-karag* 'bekümmert' zu *kara* f.; *kraftag*

‘kräftig’ zu *kraft* m.; *gi-lôbbhig* ‘gläubig’ zu *gi-lôbbho* m.; *lubbhig* ‘willig’, zu ae. *lufu* f.; *mahtig* ‘mächtig’ zu *maht* f.; *môdag* -ig ‘gestimmt’, ‘zornig’, zu *môd* m.; *gi-nâdhig* ‘gnädig’ zu (*gi*-)*nâdha* f.; * *nôdag* (adv. *nôdago*) ‘genötigt’ zu *nôd* f.; *ôdag* ‘reich’ zu *ôd* n.; *rôkag* ‘rauchig’ zu *rôk* m.; *skuldig* ‘schuldig’ zu *skuld* f.; *snéig* ‘schneeig’ zu *snéo* m.; *strîdig* ‘streitbar’ zu *strîd* m. (vgl. *strîdîn* § 23 c); *sundig* ‘sündig’ zu *sundia* f.; *eli-thiodig* ‘ausländisch’ zu *thiod* f.; *thurftig* ‘bedürftig’ zu *thurst* f.; *welag* ‘reich’ zu *welo* m.; *gi-weldig* ‘gewaltig’ zu *gi-wald* f.; *willig* ‘willig’ zu *willeo* m.; *wittig* ‘klug’ zu *gi-wit* n.; *wlitig* ‘glänzend’ zu *wliti* m.

b. Seltener verbindet sich -ig -ag mit Adjectivstämmen. Bisweilen erhält die Ableitung Bedeutungszuwachs. Das As. bevorzugt im allgemeinen die einfachere Form (vgl. auch § 10). Belege: [ahd. *abdrunig* ‘abtrünnig’ neben *abtrunni(g)*]; *énag* ‘einzig’, got. *áinaha*, und *énig* pron. indef. ‘irgend ein’ zu *én*; *frédhig* ‘abtrünnig’, ahd. *freidig*, neben *frédhi*; *gerag* ‘gierig’ neben ahd. *gër*; -*hugdig* ‘-gesinnt’ neben *gi-hugid*; *levindig* ‘lebendig’ neben *libbiendi*; *sálig* ‘selig’ neben got. *séls*; *sérag* ‘leidvoll’ zu *sér*; *tômig* ‘frei von’ neben *tômi*; -*werdig* ‘-wärtig’ neben -*ward*; *wirdhig* ‘würdig’ neben *werdh* adj. oder vielleicht zu *werdh* n. ‘Preis’. Neben mhd. *ant-heizee* ‘anheischig’ erscheint as. *ant-héti* ‘verlobt’.

c. Zu Verbstämmen tritt -ig -ag in *wurm-bétig* ‘wurmstichig’ zu *bítan*; *nidher-fellag* ‘herabfallend’ zu *fallan*; *hebbig* ‘schwer’ zu *hebbian*; *gi-hôrig* ‘gehorsam’ zu *gi-hôrian*; -*wendig* ‘-wendig’ zu *wendian*; *witag*? ‘wissenswert’ zu *witan*.

d. Doppeldeutig sind *énstrîdig* ‘hartnäckig’ zu ahd. *ein-strîti* f. und adj.; *grimmag* ‘grimmig’ zu *grim* adj. oder mhd. *grimmen*; *hêlag* ‘heilig’ zu *hél* adj. oder ahd. *heil* n.; *hrômag* ‘ruhmreich’ zu *hrôm* n. und *hrômian*.

e. Dunkeln Ursprungs sind *manag* ‘manch’, got. *manags*; *tumig* ‘listig’; *wôrig* ‘müde’, ae. *wérið*.

f. Zusammenbildungen auf -ig -ag, bisweilen neben, öfter statt älterem -ja-.

a. Zweiter Teil Substantiv, erster Nomen oder Zahlwort:

adhal-burdig 'edelgeboren'; *half-diorig* 'halbtierisch'; *heru-drô-rag* 'schwertblutig'; *thri-hendig* 'dreihändig'; *twî-hôbhdig* 'zweiköpfig'; *hard-môdig* 'harten Sinnes'; [ahd. *mânud-wîlig* 'mondsüchtig'].

β. Partikel mit Nomen: *eli-landig*, *-thiodig* 'ausländisch'; *missituhtig* 'ohne Zucht'; *sam-wurdig* 'übereinstimmend'.

γ. Zusammensetzung mit Verb: *wurm-bétig* 'wurmstichig'; *fiorskutig* 'verschnitten'; *mânudh-wendig* 'mondsüchtig'.

h = idg. *q*, und *ht*.

(Wilmanns II 353, 354).

32. *h* erscheint as. nur in *abhuh* 'verkehrt' (s. § 30). Das in anderen germanischen Dialekten verbreitete *ht* in *-oht*, welches ein Versehensein bezeichnet, erscheint as. nur in *unbardoht* Vo 'unbärtig', 'nicht mannbar'. Vgl. übrigens §27 d.

s + *k* (*q*)-Suffix.

(Wilmanns II 355–359; Kluge 209–211).

33. — 1. Wurzelverbindung von *-sk-* erscheint nur in *horsk* 'klug', zu got. *and-hruskan* 'erforschen' (mit ahd. *forskôn* ist as. *horsk* urverwandt); **kâsk* (adv. *kâsko*) 'keusch', ahd. *kûsci*; *malsk* 'stolz', got. *un-tila-malsks* 'unbesonnen' (zu gr. *μέλειν*); *twisk* 'zwiefach' vielleicht zu germ. Stamm **twis*.

2. Zugehörigkeit und Abstammung bezeichnet das im Ahd. reichlich, im As. spärlich belegte Suffix *-isk*. Von Länder- und Volksnamen sind zu nennen: *galiléisk* 'galiläisch'; *judéisk* 'jüdisch'; *rômanisk* 'römisch'; *thiudisk* 'deutsch'. — Zu Bezeichnungen lebender Wesen gehören: *frônisk* 'herrlich'; *kindisk* 'kindlich'; *mannisk*, *mennisk* 'menschlich', 'männlich'. — Zu Abstracten: *himilisk* 'himmlisch'; *wrénisk* 'geil', ae. *wræne*.

ZUSAMMENSETZUNG.

LEBENDIGE COMPOSITION.

34. Nach Art der Bildung lassen sich Zusammensetzungen und Zusammenrückungen scheiden. Letztere (mit einer mangelhaften Bezeichnung auch unechte Zusammensetzungen genannt) sind ursprünglich selbständige Wörter, die zu einer Wortgruppe und zur Zeit ihres Auftretens in der Schrift bereits zu einer Sprachgruppe vereint sind, z. B. *Góttteshaus*, *Báuern-kind* < *Gottes Háus*, *eines Bauern Kind*. Zusammenrückungen sind dem As. völlig fremd; höchstens wäre daran bei Zusammensetzung von Adjectiv mit Substantiv zu denken, die nicht in obliquem Casus belegt ist, wie *altfader* 'Patriarch', *aldsidu* 'alte Sitte', *éwanríki* 'ewige Herrschaft'; diese Annahme aber widerlegen leicht zahlreiche Beispiele der Zusammensetzung des reinen Adjectivstammes mit dem Substantiv in obliquem Casus, wie *diopgitháht* acc. sing. fem. 'innerster Gedanke', *edhiligiburdiun* dat. pl. fem. 'adlige Herkunft', *te éwandage* dat. sing. mas. 'in Ewigkeit'. Nicht gerade unmöglich, jedoch auch kaum wahrscheinlich wäre, dass die Flexionslosigkeit des starken Adjectivs im nom. sing. solche Zusammensetzungen begünstigt und vielleicht ursprüngliche Zusammenrückungen als Composita mit dem reinen Adjectivstamm erscheinen liess, zu denen dann die obliquen Casus nach Massgabe echter Composita gebildet wurden.

Auch für Voranstellung des Genitivs bei *ful* und *lôs* ist keine Zusammenrückung anzunehmen, wie Wilmanns II 392, 1 zu denken geneigt scheint; wir haben es da mit wirklichen syntaktischen Gruppen zu thun; vgl. auch Grimm II 619–20.

Ich ordne die Adjectivcomposita nach dem ersten Glied. Nach dem Vorbilde von Holthausens Altisländischem Elementarbuch theile ich sie in vier Classen, jenachdem das erste Compositionselement ein Nomen, Verb, ein selbständiges Adverb oder ein nur in Zusammensetzungen auftretendes Wort ist; einerlei, ob sich dabei das zweite Wort als reines Adjectiv oder das ganze als Bahuvrīhi-Composition darstellt.

MIT NOMINALEM ODER PRONOMINALEM ERSTEM GLIED.

Substantiv als erstes Glied.

35. — Das Verhältniß ist ein beordnendes, vergleichendes; das Substantiv bezeichnet die Grösse, deren Wesen die einer andern Grösse beigelegte Eigenschaft entnommen ist.

a. Dies trifft besonders zu bei Farben: *wahsblank* 'wachsgelb'; *wirtbrán* (s. § 21) 'kastanienbraun'; *appulgré* 'apfelgrau', 'gescheckt'.

b. *kind-*, *magujung* 'jung wie ein Kind, ein Knabe'; *wintarkald* 'kalt wie im Winter'; *sumarlang* 'lang wie im Sommer'; *mánudhwendig*, *-hwílig* 'veränderlich wie der Mond', 'lunaticus'. Vereinzelt *fitilfót?* 'weissfüßig'?

2. Das Verhältniß ist ein unterordnendes, und zwar

a. ein casuelles. Der Substantivstamm erscheint in der Function

α. eines Genitivs bei Adjectiven der Fülle und Leere, Begierde, Macht und Erkenntnis und des Wertes: *-ful* in *égrohtful* 'gnädig', *ménful* 'frevelhaft'; *-lós* in *endilós* 'endlos', [ahd. *sitelós* 'sittenlos'], *sundilós* 'sündenlos', *treulós* 'treulos', *wamlós* 'makellos'; [ahd. *firiwizgēr* P 'neugierig']; *hebhanríki* Gen. 'himmelsmächtig'; *-spáh(i)* in *bókspáhi* 'gelehrt', *wordspáh* 'beredt'; *furhtuwerdh?* 'fürchterlich'; *-wís* in *wedarwís* 'wetterkundig', *wordwís* 'wortklug'.

β. eines Accusativs, als Objectscasus oder adverbial: *godforaht* 'gottfürchtend'; *aldarlang* 'lebens-, weltenlang'; *-lídhand* in *lagu-*, *séo-*, *wáglídhand* 'meer-, see-, wogenbefahrend'.

b. ein präpositionelles: *wurmbétig* 'wurmstichig'; *adhalboran-burdig* 'edelgeboren'; *hugiderbhi* 'kriegerischen Sinnes'; *herudrôrag* 'schwertblutig'; *legarfast* 'ans Lager gefesselt'; *herugrim* 'schwertgrimm'; *hetigrim* 'grimmigen Hasses'; *nídhhugdig* 'feindlich gesinnt'; *-hwat* in *ménhwat* 'kühn im Freveln'; *nídhhwat* 'scharf im Hasse'; *móðkarag* 'betrübtigen Sinnes'; *elleanrôf* 'kraftberühmt'; *lofsálig* 'lobbeglückt'; *móðspáhi* 'klugen Sinnes' (vgl. dagegen *wordspáh*, oben a, α); *móð-stark* 'zornes-

wild'; *érthungan* 'durch Ehren ausgezeichnet'; *drôrwôrag* 'durch Blutverlust geschwächt'; *sîdhwôrig* 'reisemüde'.

Der Verstärkung dient *regin-*, das wir in *regan(o)giscapu* sehen, in *reginblind* 'durch Schicksalsschluss blind', 'rem-blind'.

Adjectiv als erstes Glied.

36. — 1. Dvandva- (copulative) Composition zeigt *wîðbrêd* 'weit und breit ausgedehnt'; vielleicht auch *gramhard* 'feindlich böse'; in *brûnrôd* 'funkelnd rot' steht dagegen der erste Teil erläuternd zum zweiten.

2. Mit Adjectivstamm als erstem Glied zeigen sich viele Zusammenbildungen auf *-a-* und *-ja-*, *-ag* und *-ig* (vgl. §§ 11; 31 f). Hierher gehören Bildungen auf *-dâdig* in *mêndadig* 'frevelhaft'; *-hert* in *gêlhert* 'übermütig', *gramhert* 'feindlich'; *-hugdig* in *armhugdig* 'bekümmert', *baluhugdig* 'übelgesinnt', *gramhugdig* 'feindlich', *wrêdhugdig* 'zornig'; *-môð(ig)* in *dolmôð* 'thöricht', *frâhmôð* 'froh', *frômôð* 'froh', *gêlmôð* 'übermütig', *gladmôð* 'heiter', *hardmôð* 'rauh', *hriuwigmod* 'reuig', *jâmar-môð* 'betrübt', *séragmôð* 'schmerzvoll', *slidhmôð* 'Böses planend', *starkmôð* 'tapfer', *thristmôð* 'verwegen', *wêkmôð* 'zag', *wrêdhmôð* 'zornig'; *gôðwillig* 'guten Willens'.

3. Das erste Compositionsmitglied erklärt oder beschränkt das zweite: *armskapan* 'unglücklich'; *gôðkund* 'edler Abkunft'; *gôðsprâki* 'wohlredend'; *grêblîni?* 'graufarbig'; *halfdiorig* 'halb-tierisch'; *hôhhurnid* 'hochgehörnt'; *klénlistig* 'sehr klug'; *manag-fald* 'mannigfaltig'; *mishliumandig* 'übel berüchtigt'; *missituhtig* 'von verschiedener = ohne Zucht'; *missifaro* 'bunt'; *slidhwurdi* 'Böses redend'; *sôðhfast wârfast* 'wahrhaft'; *wârlôs* 'lügen-risch'.

4. Das erste Compositionsmitglied dient zur Verstärkung des zweiten. In Betracht kommen *irmin-* (< * *ermenas*, gr. ὄρμενος, s. Wilmanns II 415,1), das sich as. jedoch nur mit Substantiven verbindet, und *al-*. Grimm II 627 scheidet zwischen got. *ala-*, gr. παντο-, lat. *omni-*, und got. *all(a)-*, gr. ὅλο-. As. ist ein solcher Unterschied nicht mehr fühlbar; *al-* und *-alo(ala-)*

erscheinen nebeneinander im gleichen Worte wie *al-ala-alo-mähtig* 'allmächtig', *-waldo-waldand* 'allwaltend'. Ausserdem treten auf: *alaebhni* 'ganz eben'; *alohél* 'ganz heil'; *alahwít* 'ganz weiss'; *alajung* 'ganz jung'; *alsulík* 'ganz solch'; *alswart* 'ganz schwarz'; und mit anderem Bindevocal *alligilíko* adv. 'ganz gleich'.

Zahlwort als erstes Glied.

37. *én*: 1. multiplicativ in *énfald* 'einfach', 'einfältig', *énwald* 'einmütig', *énwordi* 'einstimmig'; 2. steigernd in *énhard* 'sehr feindlich', *énstrídig* 'trotzig'; 3. pronominal in *éndihwedhar* 'einer von beiden', *énhwilik* 'einer, nämlich welcher? > irgend einer'. *énkoro* 'einsam', 'Einsiedler' erklärt mangewöhnlich als volkstümliche Umdeutung von gr. lat. *anachôrêta*; dies stösst auf lautliche und innere Schwierigkeiten; liesse sich die Form nicht als Weiterbildung eines Stammes **énka* (vgl. got. *áinakls* 'einsam', an. *einka-*) deuten?

2—10: *twíhóbbhdig* 'zweiköpfig'; *thríhendig* 'drehhändig'; *fíffald* 'fünfältig'; *tehinfald* 'zehnfältig'.

Der idg. Stamm **sem* (gr. *εἶς* < **évs*, lat. *sem-el*) erscheint verstärkend in *sinuwel* 'ganz rund'.

MIT VERBALEM ERSTEM GLIED.

38. So erscheint as. nur *wandalhúti* 'die Haut verwandelnd', 'verschlagen' zu *wandlôn*, und dabei könnte *wandal* noch eine sonst verloren gegangene adjectivische *l*-Bildung sein (vgl. § 16, 1); in diesem Falle wäre das Wort als Zusammenbildung auf *-ja-* unter die Beispiele in § 36, 2 einzureihen. — *mádhmundi* 'heiter' ist keine Zusammensetzung, sondern eine Ableitung auf *men* + *to* (s. § 28 c).

MIT SELBSTÄNDIGEM ADVERB ALS ERSTEM GLIED.

39. Selbständiges Adverb als erstes Glied findet sich in [ahd. *abdrunigér* 'abtrünnig']; *afunstig* 'missgünstig'; *anmôd* 'entschlossen'; *bifang* 'umfassen von'; *bilang* 'hinreichend zu';

bitengi 'bedrückend'; *bitharbhi* 'nützlich'; *fordhwerd* adv. 'fortan'; *inburdig* 'eingeboren'; *inwardas* adv. 'innerlich'; *midfiri* 'in der Mitte des Lebens stehend'; *nidherfellag* 'abfallend'; *obhanward* 'nach oben gewendet'; *obharhōhi* 'höhnend'; *obharmōd(ig)* 'stolz'; *samwurdig* (zu *sama*) 'einwilligend'; *tōward(ig)* 'zukünftig'; *thurhfremid* 'vollkommen'; *thurhthigen* 'vollkommen'; *upwardas* adv. 'aufwärts'; *welmchtig* 'gesund'; *widharmōd -ward -werdig* 'feindselig'.

MIT UNSELBSTLÄNDIGER PARTIKEL ALS ERSTEM GLIED.

40. Zusammensetzungen dieser Art treten im As. in grosser Anzahl auf: *átelo* adv. * 'unpassend'; *andərbhidi* 'enterbt'; *andward* 'zugewandt', 'gegenwärtig'; *anthēti* 'versprochen', 'anheischig'; *antlang* 'entgegenreichend' (vgl. Wilmanns II 457 Anm.); *barwirdhig* 'sehr würdig' (vgl. lat. *permaguus*); *elilandig-lendi-thiodig* 'fremdländisch', 'von fremdem Stamm'; [ahd. *firiwizig*, *firiwizgēr* 'wissbegierig']; *geginward* 'gegenwärtig'; *garu* < **gearu* 'bereit'; *gifrāgi* 'bekannt'; *gigad(o)* 'Genosse' (vgl. ahd. *gigat* 'passend'); *gigerwi* 'bereit'; *gihōrig* *gihōrsam* 'gehorsam'; *gihugid* 'gesinnt'; *gilang* 'sich erstreckend', 'bereit'; *gilik* 'gleich'; *(un)gilōbhig* '(un)gläubig'; *(un)gilōsam* (un)glaublich'; * *gimak* (*gimako* sw. mas.) = *gigado*; *gimēni* 'gewöhnlich'; *ginādihig* 'gnädig'; *ginōg* 'genügend'; *gisund* 'gesund'; *giswāsi* 'verbündet'; *gital* 'behend'; **gitrōsti* (*helmgitrōsteo* sw. mas.), ahd. *gitrōst*, an. *traustr* 'getrost'; **githiod* (adv. *githiudo*), ahd. *gadiuto* 'passend'; *githungan* 'gediegen'; *giwar* 'gewahr'; *giweldig* 'Gewalt habend'; **giwon* (*giwono*), ahd. *giwon* 'gewohnt'; *sāmquik* 'halbtot'; **urkundi* (*urkundeo* sw. mas.) 'Zeuge'.

41. Mit der Partikel *un-* lässt sich as. zu den meisten Adjectiven ein Negativ bilden, wie im Nhd. jedoch keineswegs zu allen, besonders da nicht, wo der Gegensatz durch ein anderes, einfaches Wort bezeichnet werden kann wie bei *jung—ald*, *bréd—naru*, oder ein Gegensatz zu anderen Eigenschaften nicht zur Empfindung kommt wie bei Bezeichnungen von Farben, vorübergehenden Gemütsbewegungen u. a. m., vgl.

Wilmanns II 419, 1. Andererseits dient zuweilen die Negation dazu, aus einem relativen, d. h. ergänzungsbedürftigen Adjectiv ein absolutes zu machen, so bei *unquedhand* 'sprachlos' (während *quedhand* selbst als reine Verbform gefasst wird und ein Object verlangt). Bei einigen Zusammensetzungen mit *un-* ist die einfache Form nicht belegt.

Beispiele: *unbardoht* 'unbärtig', 'nicht mannbar'; *unbitharbhi* 'unnütz'; *unebhni* 'uneben'; [ahd. *unerwendet* P 'inconvulsum']; *unfôdi* 'unersättlich'; *unfrák* 'unfroh', 'traurig'; *ungihôrsam* 'ungehorsam'; *ungilík* 'ungleich'; *ungilôbbhig* 'ungläubig'; *ungilôfsam* 'unglaublich'; *ungimak* 'feindselig'; *ungimálôd* 'ungeschmückt'; * *ungiméd* (adv. *ungimédon*) 'eitel'; *ungimet* 'unangemessen'; *ungiôvid* 'ungepflegt'; *ungirîmendi* 'unzählbar'; [ahd. *ungistrâlit* 'ungekämmt']; *ungiwar* 'nachlässig'; *ungiwitti* 'thöricht'; *unhiuri* -*hiurlík* 'unheimlich'; *unhold* 'feindlich'; *unhréni* 'unrein'; *unkraftag* 'schwach'; *unléstid* 'unerfüllt'; *unmet* 'masslos'; *unôdhi* 'schwer'; *unquedhand* 'sprachlos'; *unreht* 'unrecht'; *unskôni* 'unschön'; *unskuldig* 'unschuldig'; *unstark* 'kraftlos'; *unsundig* 'unschuldig'; *unswôti* 'widerlich'; *unwam* 'makellos'; *unwand* 'unwandelbar'; *unwânlik* 'hässlich'; *unwerdhig* 'sündhaft'; *unwîglík* 'unkriegerisch'; *unwîs* 'unerfahren'; *unwitandi* 'unwissentlich'.

ERSTARETE COMPOSITION: ZWEITE COMPOSITIONSGLIEDER ALS
ABLEITUNGSSUFFIXE.

(Wilmanns II 361—383; Kluge 237—247.)

42. Die verhältnismässig ergiebigste Quelle zur Schöpfung neuer Adjectiva ist wie im Ahd. so auch im As. das Suffix *-lik*, mit dem in den pronominalen *sulik* 'solch' und *hwilik* 'welcher Art', 'wie beschaffen' ein älteres Suffix, erkennbar in gr. *πηλίκος* 'wie gross', *τηλίκος* 'so gross' zusammenfällt, s. Wilmanns II 361 Anm. In zweiter Linie kommen die as. weit spärlicher belegten *-sam* *-haft* und das mit Richtungsadverb verbundene *-ward* in Betracht.

-lik.

(Wilmanns II 361—371; Kluge 237—238).

43.—1. Bezüglich des Wesens des Suffixes *-lik* stimme ich mit Wilmanns II 361, 1 dahin überein, dass Bahuvrihi-Bildungen mit dem Substantiv *lik* = 'Leib', 'Körper' nicht ausgeschlossen sind, die grosse Mehrheit der *lik*-Ableitungen jedoch besser auf einen gleichlautenden Adjectivstamm *lik* 'gleich', 'passend' (wozu auch as. *likôn* 'genehm sein', 'gefallen') zurückgeführt werden. Den von Wilmanns gegebenen Gründen zu dieser Annahme möchte ich noch zwei weitere hinzufügen. Erstens hätte sich *lik* = 'Körper', 'Gestalt' auf die Zusammensetzung mit Concreten, besonders Personenbezeichnungen (wie got. *waíraleiks*), und Adjectiven (got. *liubaleiks*) beschränken müssen und, wäre es als Substantiv gefühlt worden, nicht auch auf Abstracta (as. *hetilik*) ausbreiten können; seine allseitige Verwendung in der Composition wäre also fast unverständlich. Zweitens finden sich neben vielen einfachen Adjectiven, die mit Bezeichnungen für Concreta verbunden werden, secundäre *lik*-Ableitungen, die nur zu abstracten Substantiven treten (s. u. § 85, sowie Grimm II 660-1, Wilmanns II 363, 5); die Verwendung eines Substantives *lik* = 'Körper' zur Bildung von Epitheta für abstracte Begriffe wäre aber zum mindesten recht auffallend.

Eine Analogie zu den Bildungen mit adjectivischem *-lik* bietet das Neuenglische mit seiner Verwendung von *like* bei Substantiven aller Art, um Aehnlichkeit oder Verwandtschaft mit dem Wesen und den Eigenschaften der im Substantiv ausgedrückten Grösse zu bezeichnen, z. B. *hornlike* 'hornähnlich', *womanlike* 'nach Frauenart', 'frauenhaft' (während das auf gleichen Ursprung zurückgehende *womanly* 'weiblich' mit Bedeutungsverengerung nur die lobenswerten Eigenschaften des Weibes bezeichnet); ferner in amerikanischen Dialekten auch bei Adjectiven, um einen mehr oder minder unbestimmten Grad der Eigenschaft darzustellen, wie "*He's a strange-like fellow*" = *rather strange*; "*she looked at me with a queer-like*

expression in her face." Das alte *lice*, das zur Adverbendung *-ly* verblasst ist, lässt sich zur Adjectivbildung nicht mehr oder nur ausnahmsweise verwenden.

2. Von einer Reihe von *lik*-Ableitungen existiert jeweils nur das Adverb *-liko*. Behaghel, § 10 Ende, nimmt an, dass *-liko* als einheitliches adverbbildendes Suffix gefasst wurde, umsomehr da neben manchen Adjectiven einfache *o*-Adverbia fehlen und daneben Adjectiva auf *-lik* und Adverbia auf *-liko* bestehen. Es ist demnach nicht unmöglich, dass manche secundären *lik*-Adjectiva neben einfachen Adjectiven erst von Adverbien auf *-liko* genommen wurden; andererseits sind aber doch wohl einzelne secundäre *lik*-Bildungen als Grundlage eben dieses adverbialen *-liko* anzusetzen. Ich gebe in den folgenden Listen die nur in der Adverbialform vorkommenden *lik*-Bildungen als Adverbia. Wo neben *lik*-Adjectiv ein einfaches erscheint, steht das letztere in Klammer. Wo nicht anders vermerkt, entsammen die Belege dem Heliand.

1. ZUSAMMENSETZUNG MIT SUBSTANTIV.

44. *arbhidliko* 'mühevoll'; *burglik* Pw 'städtisch'; *egislik* 'grausig'; *erdhlik* Pa 'irdisch'; *ernustliko* Pw 'ernstlich'; *fehulik* Ee 'fürs Vieh'; *fékanliko* Ee 'hinterlistig'; *fenilik* Pw 'sumpfig'; *firiwitliko* 'wissbegierig'; [ahd. *fisklih* P 'fiscal']; *flésklik* Pa 'fleischlich'; *flitliko* 'mit Eifer'; *freundlik* Vo 'freundlich'; *gamlik* Gen. 'freudig'; [ahd. *gamanlih* P 'ridiculum']; *géstlik* 'geistig'; [ahd. *heriberglih* P 'zum Lager gehörig']; *hërri-lik* Pw 'dem Herrn gehörig'; *hetilik* 'hassvoll'; *hônlik* Pw 'schändlich'; *hriuliko* E, Ee 'reuevoll'; *karkarlik* Pw 'carceralis'; *késarlik* Pw 'kaiserlich'; *mánudhlik* S 'monatlich'; *niudliko* 'eifrig'; *ôbhastliko* 'eilig'; [ahd. *sélih* P 'maritim']; [ahd. *sitelih* P 'sittlich']; *skernlik* Pw 'possenhaft'; *skôpliko* S 'poetisch'; *theganlik* Gen. 'heldenhaft'; *thinglik* Pw 'gerichtlich'; *thioliko* 'demütig'; *werklik* Mg 'geschäftig'; *weroldlik* G 'weltlich'; *wiglik* Pw 'kriegerisch'; *wistlik* Mg 'zum Lebensunterhalt gehörig'; *widhumlik* Vo 'zur Mitgift gehörig'; *wrisilik* 'riesig'; *wundarlik* 'wundervoll'.

2. ZUSAMMENSETZUNG MIT ADJECTIV.

45. Wo neben einander *a-* und *-ja-* Stamm erscheinen, verlangt die Zusammensetzung mit *-lik* den *a-* Stamm, vgl. § 10.

agalétliko Gen. (*agaléto* Hel.) 'eifrig'; *armlik* (*arm*) 'elend'; *baldliko* (*bald*) 'kühn'; *barliko* Ee, G, *bar(a)liko* Hel., *baro* Ee (*bar*) 'offenbar'; *berhtlik* (*berht*) 'glänzend'; *blídhlik* (*blídh*) 'heiter'; [ahd. *bôsliche* P 'schlecht']; *diurlík* (*diuri*) 'teuer'; *éristlik* Mg 'ursprünglich'; *ferahtliko* (*feraht*) 'verständlich', 'gerecht'; *fravilliko* (*fravol*) Pw 'starrsinnig'; *frílik* 'freigeboren'; *fróliko* (*fró*) 'froh'; *fulliko* (*ful*) 'völlig'; *garoliko* (*garu*) 'bereit'; *gáhlíko* (*gáh*) 'plötzlich'; *giburilik* Mg 'gebührend'; *gilumplik* Pw 'passend'; *gisichtigliko* Ee 'sichtbar'; *gódlík* (*géd*) 'prächtigt'; *godkunniglik* Pw 'von göttlicher Art'; *grimliko* Pw (*grim*) 'grausam'; *grioliko* 'grauenvoll'; *hardliko* (*hard*) 'streng'; *hēlaglik* (*hēlag*) 'heilig'; *hērlík* S (*hēr*) 'vornehm'; *hluttarliko* Bs (*hluttar*) 'aufrichtig'; *hōhilík* Pw 'verächtlich' (zu *obharkōhi* 'höhnend'); *holdlik* (*hold*) 'angenehm'; *hriuwigliko* (*hriuwig*) 'reuevoll'; [ahd. *kleinlich* P (*kleini*) 'fein', 'zierlich']; *kádhliko* (*kúdh*) 'bekannt'; *lioslik* (*lios*) 'lieblich'; *líhtlik* 'leicht', 'gering'; *mahtiglik* (*mahtig*) 'mächtig'; *márlík* (*mári*) 'ruhmeswert'; *gemēdlík* (*ungimēdon*) 'thöricht'; *methertiglik* Pw 'bescheiden'; *mislik* Hel., *missilik* Ee 'verschieden'; *opantliko* (*opan*) 'offen'; *óðharlik* (*óðhar*) 'verschieden'; [ahd. *reihlich* Pw (*riki*) 'reie'r']; *sátiglik* (*sálig*) 'fromm'; *seldlik* 'selten'; *sódhlik* (*sódh*) 'wahr'; *spóhlik* (*spáhi*) 'weise'; *swáslik* Pp (*swás*) 'einheimisch'; *swídhliko* (*swídh*, *swídh*) 'kräftig'; *torhtlik* (*torht*) 'glänzend'; *waraliko* (*war*) 'vorsichtig'; *wárlíko* (*wár*) 'wahrhaft'; *werdhliko* (*werdh*) 'ehrfurchtsvoll'; *wislik* (*wis*) 'weise'.

Bisweilen kann das Product sowohl als substantivische wie auch als adjectivische Zusammensetzung angesehen werden: *forhtlik* 'furchtbar' zu *forhta* f. 'Furcht' oder zu *forht* 'bange'; *harmlik* 'schädlich' zu *harm* m. 'Leid' oder zu *harm* 'leidig'; *jámarlik* 'kläglich' zu *jámar* m. 'Jammer' oder zu *jámar* 'be-trübt'; *lédhlik* 'leidvoll' zu *lédh* n. 'Feindschaft' oder zu *lédh*

‘feindlich’; *tírlíko* ‘ehrenvoll’ zu ahd. *ziari* f. ‘Zier’ oder zu *ziari* ‘schmuck’; *wánlik* ‘schön’ zu *wán* f. ‘Glanz’ oder zu aisl. *vænn* ‘schön’.

3. ZUSAMMENSETZUNG MIT VERB.

46.— a. Mit Verbalstamm: [ahd. *kouflīh*, *firkouflīh* P ‘käuflieh’, ‘verkäuflieh’ zu *koufen*, *koufōn*, *fir-*]; *muni* (*muna*)-*lik* ‘lieblich’ zu **munan* ‘denken’ (vgl. *farmunan*); *ôflik* Pw ‘gepflegt’ zu **ôvian* (vgl. *ungiôvid*); *quekilik* P ‘schwingbar’ zu ae. *cwacian* ‘zittern’; *untelliko* Mg ‘unaussprechlich’ zu *tellian* ‘sagen’; [ahd. *zagilīh* Pw ‘schläfrig’ zu **zagen*].

b. Mit partic. praet.: *gihávidliko* Pw ‘verkrüppelt’; *unforthionôdliko* Mg ‘unverdient’.

c. Mit partic. praes.: *anstandanliko* Mg ‘eindringlich’; *bigangandelik* Pw ‘feierlich’, ‘celeber’; *bitékniandelik* Pw ‘bildlich’; *gibôgiandelik* Pw ‘biegsam’; *spanandelik* Pw ‘lockend’; *unarwániandelik* ‘unvermutet’; *unbiwandlondelik* ‘unwandelbar’.

4. ZUSAMMENSETZUNG MIT PARTIKEL.

47. *gilik* ‘gleich’; *hwilik* ‘welcher’, ‘was für ein’ (vgl. § 42); dazu *gihwilik* ‘jeder’; *daghwilik* Fh ‘täglich’.

-sam.

(Wilmanns II 372, 373; Kluge 239).

48. As. erscheint -sam nur in Substantivcomposita: *arbhedsam* ‘mühselig’; *hêlsamo* Pw ‘zur glücklichen Stunde’; *gilôfsam* Pw ‘glaubwürdig’; *lofsam* ‘lobenswert’; *lustsam* ‘angenehm’; *niudsam* ‘wünschenswert’; *wonodsam* ‘behaglich’; *wun-sam* ‘wonnig’. Nur ein Adjectivstamm: *langsam* ‘lange wählend’.

-haft.

(Wilmanns II 379—382; Kluge 240.)

49. *éhaft* Ee ‘legitim’; *stedihaft* ‘an eine Stätte gebunden’; *treuhaft* ‘in Treue verbunden’; [ahd. *giziughaft* P ‘ausgestat-

tet']. In allen tritt die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Suffixes, das Gebundensein, noch sehr klar hervor.

-ward.

(Wilmanns II 383.3).

50. Dies erscheint nur in Verbindung mit Richtungsadverbien: *andward* 'entgegengewandt', 'gegenwärtig'; *fordward* 'vorwärts gewandt', 'zukünftig'; *geginward* = *andward*; *herodward* 'hierherwärts'; *inward* 'innerlich'; *obhanward* 'nach oben gewandt'; *tôward* 'zugewandt', 'künftig'; *upward* Ee 'aufwärts'; *widharward* -werdig 'entgegengesetzt', 'feindlich'. Einige der genannten erscheinen nur adverbial im gen. sing. n., wie *upwardas*.

BEDEUTUNGSLEHRE.

WORTART.

51. Die Abgrenzung des Adjectivs von andern Wortarten ist im As. dieselbe wie in den andern germanischen Dialekten gleicher Zeit. Berührung mit andern Wortarten findet statt zwischen Adjectiv und Substantiv, Adjectiv und Adverb, Adjectiv und Verb.

ADJECTIV UND SUBSTANTIV.

52. — A. Es giebt Nomina, die substantivisch wie adjectivisch auftreten (vgl. Behaghel, 3 B).

alowaldo, subst.: 121 *for them alouualdon*; adj.: 813 *Krist alouualdo*, 861 *alouualdon gode*, 1922 *fader alauualdan*.

gôd, subst.: 1344 *godo gehuuilikes*; adj.: 313 *suuidho god gumo*.

harm, subst.: 5113 *mest harmes*; adj.: 159 *tho uuard that heuencuninges bodon harm an is mode*.

héleand, subst.: 958 *thana heleand*; adj.: 2278 *helando Krist*.

hét, subst.: C 3437 *tholodun unmet het*; adj.: C 2573 *heta logna*.

lédh, subst.: 303 *ledes uuiht*; adj.: 684 *thana ledan man*.

liof, subst.: 1458 *togeat in liob uuidar ira lede*; adj.: C26 *liof landes uuard*.

lioht, subst.: 3134 *that berhte lioht*; adj.: 4232 *thiu liohte sunne*.

neriand, subst.: 520 *neriandas ginist*; adj.: 2179 *neriendo Krist*.

reht, subst.: 975 *allaro rehto gehuuilik*; adj.: 1688 *rehtoro thingo*.

scr, subst.: C 5593 *uuit hier bethia tholod ser*; adj.: 3178 *uuard im ser hugi*.

skin, subst.: 4908 *than uuas sunnun skin*; adj.: C 5823 *hier sind noh thia stedi seina*.

torn, subst.: 2143 *thar sie iro torn manag tandon bitad*; adj.: C 5523 *tornon trahnon*.

thiustri, subst.: 3386 *thurh that thiustri*; adj.: 4668 *thius thiustrie naht*.

unrecht, subst.: 308 *an unreht*; adj.: 1697 *unreht gimet*.

wah, subst.: 3950 *sulik uuah*; adj.: C 5573 *uuah uwarth thesaro uueroldi*.

waldand, subst.: 409 *uueroldes uualdand*; adj.: 2758 *uualdanden Krist*.

uam, subst.: 2588 *that sie uuam frummien*; adj.: 1397 *iro uuammun dadi*.

wár, subst.: 4163 *bethiu he so uuar gisprak*; adj.: 907 *uuaroro uuordo*.

werdh, subst.: 3444 *iunes uuerkes uuerth*; adj.: 117 *thina dadi sind uualdanda uuerde*.

Vgl. auch 2913 *thea uuaglidand*, subst., und 2909 *the scolidandean*, adj.

B. Bei einigen Nomina bleibt es unentschieden, ob sie Substantiva oder Adjectiva sind. Hierher gehören ausser den von Behagel 3 A genannten *énkoro*, *gibeddeco*, *gibenkeco*, (die nur einmal vorkommen), *skolo*, vielleicht noch *baluwiso* (1096 *the balunuiso*), entweder masculine *n*-Bildung zum sw. v. *wisian*, also 'der ins Verderben führende' (Heyne), 'der Böses Anstiftende', oder schwache Flexion eines zusammengesetzten Adjectivs *balu-wis* 'der Verderbenkundige' (vgl. Wilmanns II 150); ferner *gigado* (C 25 *godspell that guodo, that ni habhit enigan gigadon huergin*), ahd. *gigat* (vgl. § 40), *obharhóhhdio* 'Oberhaupt'. Zu *glaso* Vo 'Grauschimmel' vgl. § 15. Vgl. auch unten § 53 D I.

C. Substantiva, die im Uebergang zu adjectivischem Gebrauch begriffen sind (Paul, Principien der Sprachgeschichte, 4. Aufl., XX § 250), lassen sich im As. nicht nachweisen. Viel-

leicht sind von den oben unter A genannten *liohht*, *skín* und und *thiustri* so aufzufassen. Bei den andern dürfte die adjectivische Verwendung die ältere sein.

53.—D. Reichhaltig wie in andern germanischen Dialekten gestaltet sich die Substantivierung der Adjectiva. Diese erscheint

I. usuell. Das Adjectiv wird zum reinen Substantiv und isoliert sich gern in der Form gegen die ursprüngliche Wortart. Dies ist der Fall bei den ursprünglichen Comparativen *aldro*, *furdhro*, *hérro*, *jungro*, die sich durch fast regelmässige Synkope des Suffixvocals von den als solchen empfundenen Comparativen abheben (vgl. Holthausen 369). Sonst sind hier völlig sichere Belege as. nicht nachzuweisen; doch gehören hierher mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit von den oben unter § 52 B erwähnten Wörtern *baluwiso*, *gigado* und *obharhobhdio*. *hédhino* erscheint in den Kl. Denkm. nur als schwaches Masculinum, im Heliand als Adjectiv (2385 *so manag hedin man*). Dass *lamo* 'der Lahme' nur substantivisch erscheint, ist wohl Zufall; zu beachten aber ist, dass es auch aisl. nur schwach (*lami*) auftritt.

II. occasionell. Das Adjectiv wird nur vorkommenden Falls substantivisch gebraucht. Alle Flexionsweisen, Genera, Numeri, Casus und Gradus können so erscheinen (vgl. Beaghel 58); jedoch giebt es auch viele Einzelwörter, die sich der Substantivierung entziehen, vgl. unten § § 68—72.

54. — Starke Flexion.

a. POSITIV.

α. Masculina und Feminina.

Heliand und Genesis. Bezeichnungen der drei Personen der Gottheit: 1248 *tho giuuet im mahtig selb*; 1999 *mahtiges moder*; 2103; C 2233; M 2957–8; 3130 *uuid so craftagne*; 3171–2; 3518; 4023; 4079; C 5610. Menschliche Wesen: *ôdhar* (stark auch nach bestimmtem Artikel): 1434 *that he othrana aldru bincote*; 1438; 1441; 1477; 1526–7; 1625; 1694–5; 1699; 3701;

3880; 4065; 4107; 4281; 4587; 4754; C 5581—5588; nach bestimmtem Artikel: 1347; 2438; 2601; 2604; C 3439; M 4279. Andere Adjectiva: C 1 *manega uuaron* — 51 — 53 *dernero dualm*; M 378; 386; 439; 496; 531; 535; 745; 765; 946; 955; 1078; 1195-6; 1213; 1248; 1274; 1631; 1751; 1841; 1863-4; 1916; 1999; C 2209—2211-2—2212—2219-20; M 2281; 2304-5; 2353; 2639-1; 2766; 2796; 2809; 2918; 2938; 3149; 3156; 3565; 3588; 3622; 3631; 3632; 3753-5; 3791-2; 3822; 3935; C 3956—3976; M 4018; 4089; 4206-7; 4290-1; 4316; 4322; 4741-2; 4802; 4915; 4948; 4972; C 5489—5849; Gen. III 187 *feckia sterebat*; 240; 244-5; 254; 314-5.

Kleinere Denkmäler. Bs: W 16.21 (*arma man endi*) *othra elilendia*; 16.26 *siakoro ne uuisoda*; 16.27 *sera endi unfraha ne trosta*; 17.14 *ik othra merda*. — Ee: Matth. IX 12 W 49.32-3 (*non est opus sanis*) *vuelmehhtigon (medicus)*; Matth. XXVII 15 W 53.6 und Joh. XVIII 39 W 61.10-5 (*ut unum*) *hahtan (dimittam)*. — G 122b W 63.5 (*quippe iustorum*) *giuuisso rehtero*. — Pw 58 b 1.85 W 97.26 (*illius*) *thes enas*. — S XI, IV 2 W 103.19 (*sceleratorum*) *sundigara*; XIV, VI 33 W 108.7 (*tyrannorum*) *mer mahtigaro*. — Vo XI 736 W 114.2-3 (*super abiectum*) *nithergiuuorpenen (posito pede)*.

β. Neutra.

Heliand und Genesis. Quantitätsbegriffe: *manag*: C 36-7; M 1242 *mankunnies manag*; 1775; 2132; 2702-3; 2867; 2982 3172; C 3436-7; M 3540; 4109-10; 4234; 4788-9; 5058-9. — *genôg*: 2112-3 *odes genog* | *uuelono*; 2120; 2830; Gen. III 262-3. — *lut*: 1782 *uuerodes lut*. Abstracte Begriffe. Singular. Nom. acc., im letztern auch mit Präposition zu adverbiallem Ausdruck verbunden: 1101 *al so godlic*; 1348; 1486; 1496; 1550; 1694-5; 1778; 1961; 2145? 2478; 3408; 3837; 4158; 4164; 4193; C 5498; Gen. III 285 *suart (narouua naht)*; — 591 *undar twisk*; 1918; 2693 *thurh middi*; 4893 *an odar*; 4222 *an abuh*. — Genitiv: C 36 *unndarlicas filo* — 41-2—83; M 183; 188; 222; 303; 395-6; 567; 881; 906; 1166-7; 1205-6; 1305; 1341; 1456; 1465; 1538; 1585-6; 1625; 1650; 1691-2; 1723; 1726; 1748; 1768-9; 1892; 1963; 2495; C 2533-4; M 2598; 2625; 2720; 2843-4; 3157-8; 3172; 3247; 3252;

3307-8; 3311-2; 3331-2; 3380; 3496-7; 3623-4; 3737; 3768; 3775-6; 3802; 3886-7; 3897; 3934; 3944; 4151; 4196; 4208; 4894-5; 4905; 4909-10; 5054-5; 5119-20; 5140; 5183-4; 5192; C 5456-7—5644—5652-3—5661—5668-9; Gen. III 154-5 *so uilu uuammas*; 191; 198; 262-3; 278; 284-5; 320. — Dativ und Instrumentalis: 497 *them liudiun te leoba*; 1300; 1525; 1937; C 3460—3488; M 3494; 3497; — besonders *mikilu* beim Comparativ: 182; 941; 1683; 1727; 1781; 2482; 3770; 3902; 4584; 5825. — Plur. Accusativ: 3904 *romodun rehta*; Gen. III 196-7 *that thu duoas ubila endi guoda, lioba endi ledha*. — Dativ: *te uuaron* 171; 184, 190 und weiter sehr häufig. — *middiun*: 812 *undar middiun*; C 2240-1; M 3823; 3903; C 5665. — M 826 *bi rehton*; 925 *te sodon*; C 5835 *an sundron*.

Kleinere Denkmäler. Bs: W 17.6 *ik farstolan fehoda*; 17.14 *unrehtas thahta*.

b. COMPARATIV.

55. Von diesem erscheint in starker Flexion nur der nom. acc. sing. n. *mér* (identisch mit der Form des Adverbs): 652 *gisideas mer*; 1546-7; 2020; 2127-8; 2187; 2843-4; C 3438-9 — 3441-2—5352. — Bs: W 17.11 *mer sprak endi mer suigoda than ik scoldi*.

c. SUPERLATIV.

56. Der attributiv-substantivische Superlativ zeigt sich in der flexionslosen Form, die mit der Form der starken Flexion im nom. sing. aller Genera identisch ist, nur in Heiland und Genesis, und zwar in der Regel nur als Schluss einer Variantenkette. Er verbindet sich immer mit einem partitiven Genitiv und wird diesem regelrecht nachgestellt. Wo er nicht in der Variante steht, wie in 3709 *allaro sango mest* (desgl. 2074; 2613-4; 3092) und in dem häufig wiederkehrenden *allaro barno best* für Christus, dürfen wir annehmen, dass er durch die Situation, die allgemeine religiöse Anschauung oder den bei fortlaufender Lectüre des Epos gewonnenen Eindruck als epische Formel hinlänglich gerechtfertigt ist.

Besondere Beachtung verdienen die Vocative. Beim Vocativ kommt schwache Flexion häufiger als starke vor. Wie uns C 5636–7 *liebho drohtin* | *helag hebancuning*, auf schwache Flexion im einführenden Vocativ starke im appositiven begegnet, so stehen auch ausser dem letzten sämtliche hier verzeichnete Belege in Apposition zu *frô mîn* oder dergl.: 1590; 4036; 4301 *neriendero bez*; 4606; C 5601.

Andere Belege: C 50 *Cristas giburd*, | *helandcro best* (wo man die Apposition im Genitiv erwartete); M 270–1; 338; 371–2; 404; 619; 746; 848; 871; 973; 993; 1036; 1083; 1092; 1109; 1133–4; 1138; 1249; 1334; 1676; 1993; 2031; 2032; 2063; 2089; 2315; 2577; 2622; 2696; 2811; 2851; 2901; 2962; 3061; 3081; 3119; 3143; 3149; 3153; 3242; 3326; 3410; 3558; 3571; 3644; 4326; 4331; 4380; 4745; 5027; 5050; 5075; 5218; 5267; C 5392–5427–5549–5576–5623–5630–5634–5739–5741–5929; Gen. III 269 *sunna thiû huuita*, | *alloro bokno beratost*.

Sonst erscheint in starker Flexion vom Superlativ nur das Neutrum *mêst*: 614 *bokcraftes mest*; 2744; 5113; C 5786; und *êrist* in der formelhaften Verbindung *at êrist*: 455; C 3426–3430–3435; M 3870; 4819.

57. — 2. Schwache Flexion.

a. Positiv.

α. Masculina und Feminina.

aa. ohne vorhergehende nähere Bestimmung.

Heliand und Genesis: *gramo* als Bezeichnung für den Teufel: 3359 *an gramono hem*; C 3455–6 *gramono farlatid* | *uuretharo willion*; M 3603; 4622; 5165. — M 2331 *liggeandean lamon*; 3554 *rcginblindun* — die Personen sind bereits aus dem Zusammenhang bekannt, so dass zur Substantivierung die der schwachen Flexion innewohnende individualisierende Kraft genügt (vgl. unten § 63). Dieselbe zeigt sich auch bei *éno* 'einzig und allein': C 13 *sic enan*; M 1499; 3054–5; 4305 *fader uuet it eno*; ebenso Fh 10 a W 43.14 und Pw 13 a 1. 317 W 92.14 (*si solus*) *ofthe he oc eno (pater)*.

Kleinere Denkmäler: Ee Matth. I 20 W 48.8 (*coniugem*) *gimehlidun*; Matth. XXVI 21 W 52.8 (*quatenus conscius*) *scul-*

digo (se conuerterit); Pw 52 b 2. 298 W 95.14 (*ineptus*) *dumbo*; 56 a 1. 878 W 96. 17 (*criminosus*) *menfulligo*; 59 b 2. 235 W 98.28 (*inclite*) *o storio!* 61 a 2.79 W 100.7-8 (*foedis sub auctionibus successor exheres*) *anterridio* (*gemit*); 62 b 2.529 W 102.2-3 (*o ter quaterque et septies beatus*) *uuola thu filo lango saligo!*

bb. nach näherer Bestimmung, besonders kennzeichnendem (bestimmtem) Artikel.

Heliand and Genesis. Bezeichnungen Gottes und Christi: 371 *the mario*; 1595 *the rikeo*; 2314; 2381 *the godo*; 3028 *the helago*; 3264 *the eno*; 3635; 4278; 4505; 4572; C 4714; C 5545-5726. (Zu *alowaldo* und *neriendo* vgl. § 52 A.) — Bezeichnungen des Teufels: 901 *thes gramon*; 1034; 1096 *the baluuuiso* (vgl. § 52 B und 53 D I); 1106 *thes ledan*; 2990; 3596 *the hatola*; C 5427 *thie uuretho* — 5451 *thes dernien*; Gen. II 140 *thie ledho*. — Menschen: 453 *thiu godun tuue*; 631; 671; C 2224; M 2308; 2602; 2637; 2638; 2909; 3359 *thene godan*; 3580; 3661; 3837; 4390; 4391; 4445; 4620; 5253; C 5646.

Kleinere Denkmäler: Pa: W 14.23; 15.3 *then heligon*; W 15.2 *mines drohtines heligono*, sowie B: W 18.10; 15 *allero godes heligono* (was im Heliand bei vorausgehendem Genitiv unmöglich wäre); Bs: W 17.24 *allon sinan helagon*; B: W 18.17 *thur thero heligono gethingi*; Ee Matth I 20 W 46.22-3 (*coniugem tuam*) *thina gemeklidun*; Ee Luc XXIII 17 W 58.2-3 (*unum uinetum*) *thero haktono*; Pw 63 a 1.579 W 102.16-7 (*sed per patronos auxiliares*) *neuan thuru thia helpanthiun*; 63 a 1.580 W 102.17 (*peccator*) *the unuuertthigo*.

β. Neutra. Heliand 1521 *that uuare*; 4979 *the gimarcode*. — Pw 11 a 1.30 W 91.23-4 (*sophistica*) *thia uuisun*.

b. Comparativ. Hierher gehören die § 53 D I erwähnten auf der Uebergangstufe zu reinen Substantiven befindlichen *aldro*, *furdhro*, *hérro*, *jungro*.

58. — Superlativ.

Heliand und Genesis: C 54 *rikeo mesta*; M 202 *uuise man*, | *thea suuasostun mest*; 438 *friho scaniosta*; 485; 603; 612-3; 758 *an erdone beztun*; 760; 821 *manno liobosto!* 981 *an allaro badho them bezton*; 991; 1010; 1023; 1215; 1298-9; 1448;

1702; 2017; 2045-6 *thero gsteo themo heroston*; 2058; 2431; 2488; C 2546 *mid uucodo uuirsiston*; M 2785-6 *allaro manno thes uuisoston*; 2806; 2883; 3034; 3101 *thegno bezto!* 3275; 3344; 3414; C 3441; M 3510; 3555; 3684; 3712; 3791; 3793; 4025; 4331; 4411; 4436-7; 4467-8; 4556-7; 4881; 4949; 4950; 4991; 5021; 5045; 5082; 5249; C 5306-5487-5519-5566-5649 *litho thes lethosten* — 5686-5887-5925; Gen. I 12 *harano mcstan*; II 134 *kuningo thie bezto*; III 163; 202. Behaghels Darstellung § 58, S. 33 unten, dass im Genitiv und Dativ keine Substantivierung stattfinde, widerlegen vollständig die sieben Fälle 758; 981; 1215; 2045-6; C 2546; M 2785-6; C 5649.

Kleinere Denkmäler: Bs: W 16.19 *mina othra nahiston*; Ee Matth. XXIV 5 W 52.13-4 *he scal iro lesta uucsan also he iro uuirrista uuas*; Luc. XXII 24 W 57.7 (*eorum maior*) *thia furista*; Luc XXII 26 W 57.10 (*qui maior*) *eldista (est in uobis)*; Joh. VII 48 W 59.36 (*ex principibus*) *furiston*; G 99 b 1628 W 62.11 (*propinquos*) *naiston*; Pw 61 a 1.38 W 99.24 (*proximi*) *naistun*.

ADJECTIV UND ADVERB.

59. Adjectiv und Adverb berühren sich im As. nur insofern, als gewisse Adjectivformen adverbial gebraucht werden. Dazu vergleiche die Bedeutung der Wortformen, § 65.

ADJECTIV UND VERB.

60. Eine Berührung dieser beiden Wortarten findet in den Participien des Präsens und des Präteritums statt. Eine Anzahl ursprünglicher part. praes., wie *friend*, *fiond*, *wigand*, sind, durch eine adjectivische Zwischenstufe, zu reinen Substantiven geworden. Andere, wie *-berand*, *hettiand*, *kostônd*, *lériend*, zeigen noch durch adjectivisches *-ero* im gen. pl. eine nähere Verwandtschaft mit dem Adjectiv. Wieder andere, wie *héliand*, *-lidhand*, *neriand* und *waldand*, erscheinen gelegentlich sogar noch in schwacher Adjectivflexion. *unquedhand* 'nicht mit Sprache begabt', 'stumm', wird durch das Präfix *un-* zum reinen absoluten Adjectiv, während das participiale Simplex eine Objectergänzung verlangt, s. oben § 41.

Leichter noch als beim part. praes., das einen Vorgang darstellt, vollzieht sich der Uebergang zum Adjectiv beim part. praet., das den Abschluss einer Handlung, eines Geschehens, und somit einen Zustand als etwas Fertiges ausdrückt. Der Anschluss eines Particips an die Adjectivclassen erstarkt im gleichen Masse, wie das lebendige Gefühl für dessen Zusammengehörigkeit mit seinem Verb schwindet, also durch fortschreitende Differenzierung in Form, Function und Bedeutung. Vgl. hierzu die Bildungslehre § § 20; 25—26.

Die Feststellung des Gebrauchs von Adjectiven mit der Copula sein bei ruhigerer und von bedeutungsverwandten Verben bei lebhafterer Anschauungsweise (s. Wunderlich, Der deutsche Satzbau, Stuttgart 1892, S. 18—9) fällt nicht der Grammatik, sondern der Stilistik anheim.

WORTFORM.

VERSCHIEDENE FLEXIONSWEISEN.

61. Sorgfältig zu beachten ist hier vor allem, dass in der as. Sprachperiode der ursprüngliche, rein wortbildende Charakter der schwachen Adjectivflexion stark verblasst ist und seine Functionen an einen lebenskräftigeren Faktor, die Wortfügung, abgetreten hat. Solche Fälle aber, wo die Verwendung der einen oder der anderen Flexionsweise durch die begleitenden Elemente innerhalb der Wortgruppe bedingt ist, hat die Syntax zu erörtern. Hierher gehört nur die Untersuchung der aussersyntaktischen Bedeutung der verschiedenen Flexionsweisen.

62. Die Grundbedeutung der starken Form ist generalisierend; „sie betont die Zugehörigkeit des erwähnten Gegenstandes zu einer viele seiner Art umfassenden Gattung“ (Erdmann, Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax I, Stuttgart 1886, § 60). Dies erklärt ihren ausschliesslichen Gebrauch bei Pronominaladjectiven wie *énig*, *hwilik*, *gihwilik*, *sulik* (sowie bei den Cardinalzahlen, soweit sie flectiert erscheinen). Ihnen schliessen sich naturgemäss die Quantitäts- und Numeraladjectiva an, wie *al*, *manag*, *ginôg*, *fáo*; ferner *half*; vielleicht in

Analogie dazu *ful*; vgl. Holthausen 350. Selbstverständlich fleetieren so auch alle nur prädicativ gebrauchten Adjectiva, ausser wo sie im Comparativ stehen (3902 *uwas sines uuilleon gernora mikilu*). Eine befriedigende Erklärung, weshalb *ölher* selbst nach bestimmtem Artikel immer stark flectiert (2633 *thea godun—thea odra*), ist noch nicht gegeben; dem wirklichen Sachverhalt dürfte am nächsten kommen, dass noch in geschichtlicher Zeit eine, dem lat. *alter*, *alius* verwandte, mehr oder minder unbestimmte Bedeutung 'der eine oder der andere von zweien', 'irgend ein anderer' nachwirkte.

63. Der schwachen Flexion eignet isolierende, individualisierende Grundbedeutung; „die Eigenschaft wird beobachtet an einem für sich dastehenden Gegenstande, ohne die Andeutung, dass auch andere an derselben teilhaben" (Erdmann a. a. O. § 70).

1. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies bei der Ordinalzahl, da die angegebene Reihenfolge doch jeweils auf nur einen Träger passt (C 43 *scolda thuo that sehta [uuerold aldar] cuman*; M 3533 *en thriddcon dage*; 4799 *thriddecon sidu*).

2. Das Natürliche ist schwache Form auch beim Comparativ; wohl am besten erklärt durch die Annahme, dass der Comparativ ursprünglich nur eine Vergleichung zweier Gegenstände darstellt und von den beiden den einen individualisiert; *maior* also ursprünglich = 'der Grössere', später allgemein = 'grösser'.

Heliand und Genesis. Attributiv: 170 *lengron huuila*; 185 *mid is suuidron hand*; 279; 610–11 (*obarhobdon*) *craftagoron cuning*, *saligoron* (also selbst in der Variation); 723–4; 735–6; 747–8; 1106; 1200; 1201–2; 1361; 1462; 1518–9; 1639; 1776; 1781–2; 1865; 1954–5; 1992; 2055; 2127–9; C 2246; M 2338; 2457; 2657; 2876; 2876–8; 3155; 3250; C 3432–3445–3472–3; M 3599; 3741; 3769–70; 4153; 4275–6; 4389; 4390; 4417; 4498; 4524; 4583–4; 4876; 5093; C 5691–5802; M 5976; Gen. II 123 *that uwas thiū uuirsa giburd*; III 265. — Prädicativ: 155 *sind unca andbari odarliceron*; 212; 323 *ne lat thu sie thi thiū ledaron*; 941; 1122; 1486; 1496; 1516; 1683; 1711–3; C 2255; M 2360–1;

2365; 2625; 2627; 3123-4; 3406; C 3483-3487; M 3776; 3901-2; 5941-2; C 5318-5529-30-5541-2; Gen. II 62-3 *mina sundia nu suuidaron thunkiad*, | *misdad mera*; III 202.

Kleinere Denkmäler: A: W 20.6 *os is th(cm)o oboro*; Ee Marc. VI 5 W 54.7 (*ciues damnabiliores fierent*) *endi the sculdigerun*; desgl. Luc. IV 23 W 55.4; Pw 11 a 1,22 W 91.14-5 (*ut quisquis lingua est nequior*) *so forth so iru enig is vnreh-tara is an is tvngvn*; 59 b 2, 283 W 98.26 (*unus . . . augustior*) *kiasarlicara*; 61 a 2,116 W 100.25-6 (*nec quisquam dicior*) *vvelagara (est)*; 65 b 1,97 (*affrica . . . cultior*) *oflikara*.

3. Das gleiche Princip gilt beim Superlativ, der im Germanischen von Hause aus den relativ höchsten Grad, nicht elativ einen sehr hohen Grad einer Eigenschaft bezeichnet. Vgl. die für den substantivischen Gebrauch gegebenen Beispiele § § 56, 58. Attributiv erscheint er as. ausser P 62 a 2 W 73.16-7 (*uiolentissimum gluten*) *uastosto lim* immer mit dem bestimmten Artikel; diese Fälle aber unterscheiden sich dann nicht von andern, in denen das Adjectiv im Positiv nach bestimmtem Artikel der schwachen Flexion folgt, sind also in die Syntax zu verweisen.

Zu den flexionslosen Formen des Superlativs im nom. sing. mas. fem. n. und acc. sing. n. vgl. § 56.

4. Auch dem Vocativ kommt naturgemäss die schwache Flexion zu; wir denken bei einer solchen Anrede nicht daran, dass die der angeredeten Person zugesprochene Eigenschaft auch bei andern zu finden sei: 3244 *leobo drohtin*; C 4699; M 5016; C 5636; Plural M 3053 *liobon liuduueros*; Superlativ: 821 *manno liobostol* 3101 *thegno bestol* Pw 59 b 2. 235 W 98.28 (*inclite*) *o storio!* 62 b. 2 529 W 102.2-3 (*o ter quaterque et septies beatus*) *uuola thu filo lango saligo!* — Diese dem Gemeingermanischen eigene Regel findet sich jedoch im Heliand öfters durchbrochen; vgl. das bei den flexionslosen Formen des Superlativs § 56 Gesagte.

5. Schwache Flexion erscheint durchweg bei einer Reihe zusammengesetzter Adjectiva, sowie bei *scolo* 'schuldig';

a. bei den mit *gi-* zusammengesetzten: 146-7 *uuarun uuit*

nu atsamna | gibenkeon endi gibeddeon (vgl. § 52 B); 1640-1 *than man hir an erdu odoc libbea | uueroldscattes geuuno*; 1828 *ne uuarun an themu lande geuuno* (singulare Form im Prädicatsnomen bei pluralem Subject); 3198 *giuuario*; C 4719—5427.

b. Bei andern Zusammensetzungen und *scolo*: 861 *encora* (vgl. § 52 B); 921-2 *he is uuiskumo | eft an thesan middilgard*; 1443 *is thes ferahes scol*; 3843; 4352-3; 4544; 5107; 5236; *alouualdo* (vgl. § 52 A) 861; 2155; 2287-8; 4186; 4294.

c. Bisweilen erscheint schwache Flexion bei attributivem Adjectiv ohne vorausgehenden bestimmten Artikel, wenn es sich auf eine bekannte oder bereits erwähnte Grösse bezieht; Gruppen, von denen Grimm IV, 509 mit einem etwas unglücklichen Ausdruck für einen an sich richtigen Gedanken sagt, der bestimmte Artikel sei hier gleichsam ausgefallen, seine Wirkung aber dauere fort.

Heliant und Genesis: 476 *almahhtigon gode* (in der Variation); 558 *fon cnosle godun*; 691 *heron heuencuning*; 2179; 2912; 3031; 3671; 4102; 4168; 4238; C 4715; M 4803; C 5422—5602—5657 *helagon athom* (nach Grimm IV 573 und Schlüter, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altsächsischen Sprache I, Göttingen 1892, S. 141, formelhafte Wendung)—5819; Gen. III 286 *narouua naht*.

Kleinere Denkmäler: Ee Luc. XIII 6 W 55.26-7 (*mulier inclinata*) *crumba uuif*; Joh. IV 25 W 59.41 (*tunc legitimus*) *chafto* (*eius uir uenit*); wohl auch T W 3.14 *gelobistu in got alamehtegan fadaer?* und ebenda Z. 18 *gelobistu in halogan gast?* (je zweimal); Bs W 16.3; 17.23 *goda alomahhtigon fadar*; Pw 62 b 1. 419 W 101.14 (*quirinali togae*) *romaniscon drembila*.

NUMERUS.

64. Ueber Adjectiva, die nur in einem Numerus erscheinen, vgl. Behaghel § 19.

CASUS.

65. Mit adverbialer Bedeutung treten auf

1. der acc. sing. n.: *al* 'ganz', *fēr* 'fern', *fordhwerd* 'fortan', *lang* 'lange', *mikil* 'sehr', *nāh* 'nahe', *unmet* 'masslos'; mit Präposition: *an abhuh* 'übel', *an ôdhar* 'anders'.

2. der gen. sing. n.: *fordhwerdes* 'vorwärts', 'ferner', *herodwardes* 'hierher', *tôwardes* 'zukünftig', *widharwerdes* 'rückwärts'.

3. der dat. sing. n. mit Präposition: *te sôdhe* 'der Wahrheit gemäss', *fan uuâre* 'aus der Wahrheit'.

4. der dat. pl. n.: *gâhun* 'eilends', 'jählings', *grôtun* 'sehr'; mit Präposition: *an sundron* 'besonders', *te sôdhon*, *te wâron* 'in Wahrheit'.

Vgl. Behaghel 12; Holthausen 373 ff.

Ueber Adjectiva, die, weil nur prädicativ, nur den nom. und acc. bilden, vgl. unten § 78.

GRAD.

66. Der Comparativ spricht dem Träger der durch das Adjectiv ausgedrückten Eigenschaft einen höheren Grad dieser Eigenschaft zu als einem oder allen andern Vertretern derselben. Die Comparativformen des As. sind relativ. Ein absoluter Comparativ — d. h. ein solcher, bei dem nur ein Hin- und Zurückgehen über ein mehr oder minder unbestimmtes Durchschnittsmass, gewöhnlich unter dem durch den Positiv bezeichneten Ausgangs- oder Nullpunkt der Eigenschaft, zum Ausdruck kommt, wie im nhd. *ein älterer Herr aus besserer Familie* — kommt as. nicht vor.

Einen besondern Gebrauch des Comparativs zeigen folgende Fälle:

1. Der Comparativ übernimmt die Funktionen des Positivs

a. im bejahenden Aussagesatz: 155 *sind unca and-bari odarlicaron*; 397-8 (Fürchtet kein Leid) *Ic scal eu liobora thing scggean* (vielmehr Willkommenes, oder,

Willkommenes als ihr vermutet); ähnlich 1122; 1350 (sie haben ihr Gutes auf dieser Welt:) *sculun oft narouuaro thing tholoian*; 3123-4; 3599-3600 (sie sündigten und verloren das Paradies): *uurdun an ledaron stedi, an thesen middilgard man faruorpen*; 3901-2; Gen. II 123-4 (Seths Nachkommen waren gut, aber:) *that uuas thi uursa giburd, kuman fan Kaina*.

b. in Frage- und Verneinungssatz (vgl. ne. 'Who's the wiser for it?' 'He is no worse for that'): 323 *Ne lat thu sie thi thi u ledaron*; 2360-1 *ni uuas Judcono bethiu | gilobo thi u betara*; 2365-6 *ni uuas gio thi u latoro bethiu | sunu drohtines*; C 5541-2 *bad that hie ni uuari | them uuerode thi u urethra* (vgl. dazu aber nhd. 'sei mir drum nicht böse'); Gen. III 202 *so thu mi thi u gramara ni sis*.

2. Der Comparativ ist einem Positiv im benachbarten Satze parallelisiert: 279-80 *ni uuard sconiera giburd, | ne so mari mid mannun*; C 2255-6 *thia stromos sculun stilrun uuerthan | gi thit uueder uunsam*; M 2625-6 *that oft luttiles huuat liohtora uurdi, | so hoho afhuobi, so duot himilriki*.

67. Der Superlativ bezeichnet den höchsten Grad der durch das Adjectiv bezeichneten Eigenschaft. Wie der Comparativ, so ist auch er rein relativ. Er kann zwar gelegentlich, wie in nhd. 'Du Aermster' 'bei schönstem Wetter', elativisch einen sehr hohen Grad der Eigenschaft ausdrücken; aber „wie sehr im allgemeinen die Sprache dieser absoluten Verwendung abgeneigt ist, zeigt sich an dem eigentümlichen Umstände, dass von einer ganzen Reihe von Substantiven, die sonst ausschliesslich im Singular vorkommen, Plurale gebildet werden, um die Anwendung des relativen Superlativs zu ermöglichen (vgl. § 17);“ Behaghel § 92. Es finden sich von absolutem Superlativ folgende Fälle: 278 *fon them hohoston hebancuninge*; 419 *an them hohoston himilo rikea*; 584 *thes bezton giburdies*; C 972 *thiedgumo best* (M *thiodgumono bezto*). In den ersten beiden Fällen dürfen wir wohl Einfluss lateinischer Vorlagen erblicken; im zweiten Falle wäre auch die Annahme zulässig, dass der Dichter zwei Genitive des Plurals

(*himilo rikeo*), deren erster vom zweiten abhinge, natürlich vermeiden wollte. In C 5810 *sneuve gilicost* haben wir eine alte epische Formel; vgl. ae. *fuzle zelicost*. Mit Behaghel a. a. O. hier absolute Verwendung anzunehmen, scheint mir nicht gerade nötig; dem Gleichnis kann sehr wohl der Sinn unterliegen: „Von allen Dingen, die dem Schnee gleichen, kam es ihm am nächsten“, oder: „Von allen weissen Dingen, womit es zu vergleichen wäre, war es dem Schnee am ähnlichsten“.

Den sprachlichen Ausdruck der Grössen, an denen die genannte Grösse vermittelt des Comparativs oder Superlativs gemessen wird, oder deren Ergänzung aus der Situation hat die Syntax zu untersuchen.

Ueber Adjectiva, die der Steigerung unfähig sind, s. unten §§ 73—76; die, welche keinen Positiv aufweisen, verzeichnet Behaghel 27, Holthausen 372.

MATERIELLE WORTBEDEUTUNG.

EIGNUNG ZU SUBSTANTIVISCHEM GEBRAUCH.

68. Während sich theoretisch die Fähigkeit der Substantivierung auf das ganze Paradigma der Flexion eines jeden Adjectivs erstreckt, zieht die lexikalisch-materielle Wortbedeutung diesem Gebrauch der Wortart viel engere Grenzen. Die Substantivierung vollzieht sich um so leichter, je mehr im Sprachbewusstsein die Bezeichnung auf die einzelne durch das Adjectiv bezeichnete Eigenschaft zurücktritt (s. Wilmanns II 298,3), je mehr Einzelzüge aus der Anschauung, Erinnerung oder Vorstellung sich zu einem vollkommenen Substanzbegriff vereinen. Umgekehrt stösst die Substantivierung auf um so grössere Schwierigkeiten, je lebendiger das Gefühl dafür ist, dass mit dem betreffenden Adjectiv eine Einzeleigenschaft und nicht das ganze Wesen oder eine das ganze Wesen beherrschende Eigenschaft des Trägers bezeichnet wird. Dies hängt grossenteils von dem Vorstellungsinhalt des betreffenden Lautcomplexes selbst ab und kann für verschiedene Sprachgemeinschaften und Vorstellungskreise sehr verschieden sein.

Das denkbar weiteste Gebiet hat der Substantivierung das heutige Schriftdeutsch eingeräumt; beschränkt ist hier die grammatische Möglichkeit nur durch stilistische Gesetze; wir sagen z. B. nicht: „*Der so Arme dauert mich*“,—„*Ich sah den so Mutigen zittern*“, sondern nur: „*Der Arme dauert mich*“,—„*Ich sah den Mutigen* (ohne Anstoss auch: *den sonst so Mutigen*) *zittern*“, während M 4774–5 unbedenklich bietet: *that he farlatan scal liabane heron, | afgeben thene so godene*. Ob eine genaue Untersuchung der Principien substantivischen Gebrauchs und ihrer Durchbrechungen im Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen schon vorliegt, ist mir zur Stunde unbekannt. Es dürfte jedoch nicht allzu gewagt sein anzunehmen, dass die ältern Sprachstufen ein ähnliches Verhältnis zeigen wie vom Schrifttum wenig beeinflusste Mundarten; vgl. z. B. die Abneigung der Mundart gegen den Gebrauch des substantivischen Adjectivs zu nur vorübergehender Charakterisierung (Reis, Syntaktische Studien im Anschluss an die Mundart von Mainz, PBrB XVIII S. 483, § 11). Auch der abstracten Verwendung des Adjectivs im Singular mit sogenanntem generischem Artikel (*der Reiche* = *jeder Reiche*) ist die Volkssprache verschlossen; schriftdeutsches „*Der Reiche hat kein Gefühl für die Freuden und Leiden des Armen*“ lautete mundartlich etwa: „*Was kümmert sich so ein reicher Kerl, ob's einem armen Teufel gut oder schlecht geht*“.

69. Der Substantivierung eignet vorzüglich der Superlativ; der Träger der Eigenschaft wird, weil des höchsten Grades teilhaftig, als der Vertreter der Eigenschaft schlechtweg gesetzt: 438 *friho scaniosta*; 758 *an erdhono beztun*; s. oben §§ 56, 58. Ähnliches gilt für den Comparativ; vgl. § 63, 2. Beim Positiv tritt Substantivierung am häufigsten zur Bezeichnung von Attributen der göttlichen Personen ein; auch wieder leicht verständlich, da der Dichter vor allen sie zu Verkörperungen der ihnen beigelegten Eigenschaften der Machtfülle, der Kraft, der Gnade zu machen wünscht. Ähnliches gilt dann von den Heiligen des Alten und Neuen Bundes, und mit den nötigen Aenderungen auch vom Teufel. Von den andern in

§ § 54, 57 aufgezählten Substantivierungen sondern sich als grössere Gruppe die Bezeichnungen körperlicher Gebrechen wie Blindheit, Lähmung u. a. ab. Hier trifft zu, was oben im Eingang von § 68 auseinandergesetzt ist: die Vorstellung der Eigenschaft tritt dabei mehr oder weniger zurück; ein Lahmer ist uns nicht nur ein des Gebrauchs seiner Gliedmassen beraubter Mensch, sondern in weiterem Sinne körperlich elend, arm, bemitleidenswert.

70. Nicht zu belegen ist as. im allgemeinen die substantivische Verwendung solcher Adjectiva, die sich in der Form besonders scharf von anderen Wortarten abheben oder in der Bedeutung die Eigenschaft als etwas Zufälliges, Aeusserliches, der Natur des Trägers nicht Notwendiges darstellen.

Kaum scheint ein Hinweis darauf nötig, dass sich von Adjectiven, die sich nur mit Abstracten verbinden (s. unten § 82), ein persönliches Adjectivsubstantiv nicht bilden lässt. Dagegen scheint zu jedem Adjectiv — ausser den rein relativen, wie *gern*, *óðan* (s. unten § § 75 Ende, 76, und Behaghel § § 119, 120) — ein abstracter Genitiv des Singulars im Neutrum gebildet werden zu können; vgl. die zahlreichen in § 54 a β gegebenen Fälle; wie denn überhaupt die Substantivierung eines abstracten Neutrum im Singular weniger Schwierigkeiten begegnet als die eines concreten Masculins oder Feminins.

71. Der Form nach erweist sich as. als nicht substantiviert oder nicht substantivierbar die Gruppe aller mit speziell adjectivischen Ableitungssilben gebildeten Adjectiva, also

1. die auf *-ig -ag* (§ 31); ausgenommen *kraftag*, *mahtig*, *alomahdig* (vgl. § 54 a α); *hêlag*, *sálig* (§ 57 a α), einem *skuldig* und *ménfullig* (ebenda).

2. die auf *-ín*, die Stoffbezeichnungen (s. unten § 72,3 a β) wie auch *éwín*, *hatilín*, *kristín*, *níðhín*, *stridín*. Zu *hédhín* vgl. § 53 D I.

3. die auf *-isk*; s. § 33,2.

4. Die Zusammensetzungen auf *-fald* (§ § 36,3; 37), *-fast* (§ 35,2 b), *-ful* (§ 35, 2, a, α), *-lík* (§ § 43—46), *-lós* (§ 35,2 a α), *-mód* (§ 36,2), *-sam* (§ 48), *-ward* (§ 50). Besonders unge-

eignet sind die, neben denen ein einfaches Adjectiv oder gleichbedeutendes Substantiv hergeht, wie *hēlag* neben *hēlaglik*, *thristi* neben *thristmōd*, *thegan* neben *theganlik*.

5. Zusammengesetzte Adjectiva scheinen sich as. überhaupt der Substantivierung zu entziehen. Wenigstens ist von den meisten der §§ 35—39 aufgezählten Zusammensetzungen auch keine Substantivierung nachzuweisen, während sich die mit unselbständiger Partikel zusammengesetzten Adjectiva (§ 40) offenbar um so leichter substantivieren lassen.

6. Auch Participia des Präteritums erscheinen nicht leicht substantiviert; so *gifrōdōd*, *gigamalōd*, *gihāvid*, *bilamōd*, *gilēbhōd*, diese wohl besonders darum nicht, weil neben ihnen einfache Adjectiva bestehen.

72. Der Bedeutung nach entziehen sich substantivischem Gebrauche:

1. alle Adjectiva, die einen vorübergehenden Zustand, z. B. eine Gemütsstimmung, bezeichnen, wie *blīdhi*, *fagan*, *frāh* (-mōd), *glādmōd* 'freudig', *drōbbhi*, *jāmar*, *sēr* 'unglücklich', *hriuwig* 'reuig', *irri*, *mōdag*, *torn* 'zornig'.

Eine nur scheinbare Ausnahme bildet *gramo* als Bezeichnung für den Teufel; denn es bezeichnet hier eben keinen vorübergehenden Gemütszustand, sondern heisst 'einer, dem das Gramsein zum innersten Wesen gehört'.

2. alle rein relativen Adjectiva (Behaghel § 119 und unten § 75), während solche, die auch absolut auftreten (a. a. O. § 120), vom substantivischen Gebrauch nicht ausgeschlossen sind.

3. Adjectiva, die besonders sinnenfällige Eigenschaften bezeichnen; Eigenschaften, die nicht notwendig zum Wesen ihres Trägers gehören, sondern eher auf äussere Ursachen und begleitende Umstände zurückgehen; Eigenschaften wahrnehmbar durch

a. Gesicht

α. Farbe: *alahwit* 'ganz weiss', *alswart* 'ganz schwarz', *appulgrē* 'gescheckt', *bláo* 'blau', *blī* 'farbig', *brūnrōd* 'glanzrot', *dosan* 'kastanienbraun', *dun* 'schwarzbraun', *falo* 'faib',

gelo 'gelb', *gréblini* 'graufarbig', *grís* 'grau', *gróni* 'grün', *hwit* 'weiss', *missifaro* 'bunt', *rôd* 'rot', *rôsoli* 'rötlich', *swart* 'schwarz', *wahsblank* 'wachsbleich', 'goldgelb', *wirtbrán* 'kastanienbraun'. Verwandte Begriffe: *berht* 'glänzend', *blas* 'weissgestirnt', 'Blässe', *blék* 'bleich', *dunkar* 'dunkel', *fagar* 'schön', *féh* 'bunt', *hédar* 'heiter', *hluttar* 'lauter', *hréni* 'rein', *mirkí* 'düster', *skír* 'klar', *skóni* 'schön', *sliht* 'verziert', *súbhari* 'sauber', *swigli* 'glänzend', *torht* 'glänzend', *thim* 'dunkel', *thiustri* 'düster', *wánam* 'glanzvoll', *wlitig* 'glänzend', *wliti-skóni* 'leuchtend schön'.

β. Stoff: die auf *-ín* (§ 23 a); ebenso *blódag*, *drórag* 'blutig', *erdhag* 'erdig', *étтарag* 'eiternd', *krotttag* 'rotzig', *tháhi* 'irden'.

γ. Räumliche Ausdehnung, Nähe, Form: *alaebhni* 'ganz flach', *bréd* 'breit', *diop* 'tief', *engi* 'eng', *fer* 'fern', *flat* 'flach', *geginward* 'gegenwärtig', *grôt* 'gross', *hóh* 'hoch', *hol* 'hohl', *krumb* 'krumm', *lang* 'lang', *mikil* 'gross', *náh* 'nahe', *naru* 'eng', *nídhiri* 'unter', *obhanward* 'aufwärts gerichtet', *óstróni* 'östlich', *sinuwel* 'ganz rund', *smal* 'klein', *tóward* 'zugewandt', *thikki* 'dick', *thunni* 'dünn', *wíd* 'weit', *wíðbréd* 'weit ausgedehnt', *winistar* 'link'.

b. Gehör: *hlúd* 'laut', *stilli* 'still'.

c. Geruch: *unswóti* 'unangenehm'.

d. Geschmack: *bittar* 'bitter', *swóti* 'süss', *unswóti* 'unangenehm'.

e. Gefühl: *fáht* 'feucht', *hard* 'hart', *hét* 'heiss', *hwat* [*hwass*] 'scharf', *kald* 'kalt', *skarp* 'scharf', *warm* 'warm'.

4. Ausserdem giebt es as. noch eine grosse Anzahl anderer Adjectiva, die nie substantivisch auftreten und sich nicht in besondere Gruppen einreihen lassen. Sicherlich beruht das zum grossen Teil auf Zufall, z. B. bei *wís* 'weise'; inwieweit es vom Wesen der uns überlieferten as. Litteratur abhängt, wird die Stilistik näher darzulegen haben.

FÄHIGKEIT ZUR STEIGERUNG.

73. Noch viel beschränkter als die Fähigkeit zur Substantivierung ist die zur Steigerung (an der theoretisch auch jedes Adjectiv teil hat), durch die materielle Bedeutung des Adjectivs; vgl. Wilmanns II 334. Eine Darstellung der Principien des Gebrauchs und der Häufigkeit der Steigerungsformen auf geschichtlicher Grundlage fehlt noch. Doch wirtschaftet man damit auf den ältern Sprachstufen der germanischen Dialekte viel sparsamer als in den classischen Sprachen — von Interesse dürfte eine diesbezügliche Vergleichung der besten ahd. Uebersetzer mit ihren Vorlagen sein — und auch in unserm Neuhochdeutsch, das sich in kühnen, abenteuerlichen Superlativen nicht genug thun kann, wiederum im entschiedenen Gegensatz zur Volkssprache. Die Gründe, warum im Nhd. die Steigerungen so sehr überhandnehmen, sind aber neben stilistischen grossenteils semasiologischer Natur; viele Adjectiva, die in ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung ursprünglich nicht steigerungsfähig sind, werden es in der übertragenen; z. B. *der schwärzeste Undank, der goldenste Sonnenschein, die eisernste Anstrengung, der barste Blödsinn, die nackteste Wahrheit*. Auch die lautliche Entwicklung kann bei verdunkeltem Ursprung zur Steigerungsfähigkeit führen, so bei nhd. *albern* < ahd. *álawári* 'ganz wahr', 'gütig'.

74. As. finden wir kaum nennenswerte Durchbrechungen des Grundsatzes, dass Adjectiva mit fest umschriebenem Bedeutungsinhalt, bei dem kein höherer oder niedrigerer Grad denkbar ist, die Fähigkeit zur Steigerung nicht besitzen. Davon ausgehend möchte ich mit einigen Nachträgen und Erläuterungsversuchen an dem in Behaghel § 26 gegebenen Material eine Neueinteilung vornehmen. Es treten also nicht compariert auf:

1. Adjectiva, die an sich den höchsten Grad einer Eigenschaft bezeichnen;

a. der Form nach die mit *al-ala-alo-* zusammengesetzten, s. § 36,4, wie ja auch nhd. *allgegenwärtig, allwissend, allmächtig*; desgl. *sinuwel* 'ganz rund'.

b. der Bedeutung nach: *ful* 'voll', *lári* 'leer', *énag* 'einzig', *ginôg* 'genug'.

2. Adjectiva, die eine Massbestimmung enthalten: *half* 'halb', oder die Lage im Raum bezeichnen: *ôstrôni* 'östlich', *westrôni* 'westlich', und die auf *-ward* (§ 50).

3. Benennungen von Farben und Stoffen (§ 72,3 a).

4. Participialadjectiva wie *dôd*, *haft*, *libbiandi*: ein Tot-, Gefangensein und Leben in höherem oder niedrigerem Grade ist nicht denkbar.

5. Adjectiva, die die Abwesenheit einer Eigenschaft ausdrücken, d. h. negative, vor allem die Zusammensetzungen mit *un-*. Zwei Gründe scheinen dies zu bewirken: erstens kann die Eigenschaft, wenn zugesprochen, wohl in einem höheren oder niederen Grade auftreten; wenn aber abgesprochen, so hat es mit der Feststellung der Abwesenheit sein Bewenden; zweitens gehören die *un-*Adjectiva auch unter die folgende Classe.

6. Zusammengesetzte Adjectiva, einerlei welchen Charakters der erste Teil ist und ob er zum zweiten bei- oder unterordnend, casuell oder präpositionell steht. Die einzige Ausnahme bildet 2878 *enualdaran hugi*, wo in *énfald* die Bedeutung des Zahlwortes ganz verblasst ist.

7. Wie die wortbildenden Zusammensetzungen treten dann auch die syntaktischen Zusammenreihungen auf, d. h. die relativen Adjectiva, die zusammen mit ihren ergänzenden Bestimmungen als erweiterte Zusammensetzungen aufgefasst werden dürfen. Durch die erweiternden Elemente in der Gruppe wird der Bedeutungsinhalt des Adjectivs so fest umschrieben, dass eine Gradbestimmung unnütz, wenn nicht ausgeschlossen ist.

75. Die Liste der relativen Adjectiva bei Behaghel § 119 ist noch durch folgende zu ergänzen: *fagan*, *frahmôd* 'froh', (*gigado* 'seinesgleichen'), *hrômag* 'prahlend', *lat* 'lässig', *lut* 'wenig', *malsk* 'übermütig', *middi* 'mittel', *widharward* 'feindlich'; hinzuzufügen sind aus Genesis: *wôrig* 'müde', aus den Kleineren Denkmälern: *alsulík* 'ganz so', *afunstig* 'missgün-

stig', *blī* 'farbig', *gerag* 'begehrend', *samwurdig* 'übereinstimmend'.

Zu Behaghel § 120, Adjectiva, die zugleich absolut und relativ sind, gehören aus § 119 *gram* (substantivisch *gramo* für den Teufel, s. § 57 a α aa); *hold*, vgl. 485–6 *that ic minan drohtin gisah, holdan herron*; 1457 *hluttran hugi, holda treuua*; *liof*, vgl. 4761–2 *minan lioban lichamon*; *mildi*, vgl. 3239 *mildi god*; *ginôg*, vgl. C 5746 *sorogia ginuogia*; hierher auch *wôdhi*, vgl. 1201 *feng im uuodera thing*—4583 *imu uuari uuodiera thing*.

76. Zu berichtigen ist auch Behaghels Darstellung § 26 C, dass relative Adjectiva nicht compariert werden, und zwar dahin, dass solche, die auch absolut auftreten, der Comparison fähig sind; vgl. 1200 *milderan medgebon*, desgl. 1955, C 3487; häufig bei *liof*, Comparativ 397 *liobora thing*, auch prädicativ 1122 *im tho lioboro uuard*, 1683, 5529–30, Superlativ 485 *dago liobosto*, 821, prädicativ 993 *that he im uuari allaro barno liobost*, 3149, 4600.

Die von Behaghel erwähnte Ausnahme zur Regel 3901–2 *uuas thiū smale thiod sines uuilleān | gernora mikilū* ist wohl so zu erklären, dass das Gefühl des Gegensatzes zu 3896–8 *stod that folc Judeono | ubiles anmod so fan eristan, | uuredes uuilleān* den Comparativ bei *gernora* hervorgerufen hat, wo sonst auch der Positiv genügt hätte, also = 'Dafür, andererseits, war aber auch die kleine Schaar desto eifriger auf sein Wohlgefallen aus' (vgl. § 66,1, a). 2141 *an themu alloro ferristan ferne* entspringt stilistischen Gründen; C 5810 *sneuwe gilicost* ist epische Formel, vgl. § 67.

ABSOLUTE UND RELATIVE ADJECTIVA.

77. Adjectiva ergeben sich als absolut und relativ nur aus dem Zusammenhang und sind deshalb ins Gebiet der Syntax zu verweisen. Bezüglich ihrer Eignung zu substantivischem Gebrauch und zur Steigerung sind sie oben §§ 72,2 bzw. 74,7 zur Sprache gekommen.

ADJECTIVA, DIE NUR ATTRIBUTIV ODER PRÆDICATIV ERSCHEINEN.

78. Diese hat ebenfalls die Syntax zu behandeln. Hier genüge ein Hinweis auf Behaghel 57; Ausstellungen daran sollen geeigneten Ortes zur Sprache kommen.

Dass die nur prädicativ auftretenden Adjectiva nur den nom. und acc. bilden, erklärt sich von selbst; vgl. Behaghel 23.

VERBINDUNG MIT ABSTRACTEN UND CONCRETEN SUB- STANTIVEN.

79. Ob ein Adjectiv sich nur mit abstracten oder nur mit concreten Substantiven oder auch mit beiden verbindet, hängt lediglich von seiner eigenen Bedeutung ab. Bei einer Sprache mit reich entwickeltem Schrifttum müssten Sammlungen von Wörtern einer Kategorie, die sich nur mit bestimmten Gruppen von Wörtern einer anderen Kategorie verbinden, für das semasiologische Studium des Wortschatzes von grossem Nutzen sein; und vielleicht dürften sich zu ähnlichen Zwecken als Vorarbeit die folgenden, alphabetisch geordneten Listen zu bequemer Uebersicht tauglich erweisen.

Für den Heliand sind im folgenden Sievers' Aufstellungen in seiner Heliandausgabe S. 471 ff. verwendet und durchweg ergänzt, da sie in vielen Fällen auf Vollständigkeit keinen Anspruch erheben können. In den Kleineren Denkmälern lässt sich besonders bei den Glossen nicht immer eine feste Entscheidung treffen, da sie in den Ausgaben in der Regel aus dem Zusammenhang herausgerissen sind und man gelegentlich wohl auch mit falschen Auffassungen der Vorlage seitens eines oder des anderen Verfassers der Glossen zu rechnen hat.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

89. Es verbinden sich as.

1. Mit Bezeichnungen für Concreta

a. aller Art, einschliesslich Menschen, sowie bei der körperlichen Anschauung auch der Gottheit, der Engel etc.:

α. Heliand and Genesis.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>alahwīt</i> ganz weiss | <i>fēh</i> bunt |
| <i>giwādi</i> Gewand | <i>lakan</i> Tuch |
| <i>aru</i> reif | <i>nādra</i> Natter |
| <i>fruht</i> Frucht | <i>fer</i> fern |
| <i>blēk</i> bleich, glänzend | <i>fern</i> Hölle |
| <i>bōkan godes</i> Himmelszeichen | <i>fremdhi</i> fremd |
| <i>idis</i> Weib | <i>skat</i> Schatz |
| <i>man</i> Mann | <i>ful</i> voll |
| <i>Māria</i> | <i>idis</i> Weib |
| <i>blōdag</i> blutig | <i>hwelp</i> junger Hund |
| <i>barn</i> Kind | <i>girstin</i> Gersten- |
| <i>hrēogiwādi</i> Leichenkleid | <i>brōd</i> Brot |
| <i>trahni</i> Thränen | <i>grādag</i> heisshungrig |
| <i>bōmin</i> hölzern | <i>fiur</i> Feuer |
| <i>treo</i> Baum | <i>hel</i> Hölle |
| <i>brinnandi</i> brennend | <i>grōni</i> grün |
| <i>fiur</i> Feuer | <i>gras</i> Gras |
| <i>diuri</i> teuer, kostbar | <i>wang</i> Aue |
| <i>fratak</i> Zierat | <i>guldin</i> golden |
| <i>mēdhmos</i> Schätze | <i>skat</i> Geldstück |
| <i>gisidh</i> Genosse | <i>half</i> halb |
| <i>engi</i> eng | <i>heridōm</i> Reich |
| <i>weg</i> Weg | <i>hebhig</i> schwer |
| <i>ērīn</i> ehern | <i>treo</i> Baum |
| <i>skat</i> Geldstück | <i>hēdar</i> heiter |
| <i>fagar</i> schön | <i>sunna</i> Sonne |
| <i>fahs</i> Haupthaar | <i>hēl</i> heil |
| <i>fehuskettos</i> Schätze | <i>likhamo</i> Körper |
| <i>fel</i> Haut | <i>Māria</i> |
| <i>flōd</i> Strom | <i>herudrōrag</i> schwertblutig |
| <i>folk</i> Volk | <i>ōra</i> Ohr |
| <i>fōtskamel</i> Fusschemel | <i>hēt</i> heiss |
| <i>fratak</i> Zierrat | <i>fern</i> Hölle |
| <i>fruht</i> Frucht | <i>fiur</i> Feuer |
| <i>fruma</i> Besizung | <i>hel</i> Hölle |
| <i>nagal</i> Fingernagel | <i>lōgna</i> Lohe |
| <i>palma</i> Palme | <i>trahni</i> Thränen |

höðlurnid hochgehörnt*skip* Schiff*hréni* rein*korni* Korn*liudi* Volk*hvit* weiss*hár* Haar*himiltungal* Himmelsgestirn*snéo* Schnee*sterro* Stern*sunna* Sonne*giwádi* Gewand*irnandi* fließend*water* Wasser*kald* kalt*brunno* Quell*ísarn* Eisen*water* Wasser*léhni* vergänglich*fehu* Besitz*werold* Welt*líflós* leblos*líkhamo* Körper*líhtlik* leicht*lídh* Wein*línin* leinen*hréogiwádi* Totenkleid*lofsam* preiswürdig*lídh* Wein*luttik* klein*fingar* Finger*náh* nahe*burg* Stadt*fíund* Feind*negilid* genagelt*sper* Speer*niúwi* neu*galgo* Galgen*nagal* Nagel*róda* Kreuz*obhanward* nach oben gewendet*stén* Stein*wíh* Tempel*óstróni* östlich*guna* Mann; vgl. auch *westróni**quik* lebendig*brunno* Quell*mankunni* Menschengeschlecht*rípi* reif*fruht* Frucht*ród* rot*lakan* Tuch*silubhrin* silbern*skat* Geldstück*skarp* scharf*eggia* Schneide*nagal* Nagel*skúr* Kriegswaffe*swerd* Schwert*skíri* lauter*water* Wasser*wín* Wein*stedihast* wurzelnd*korn* Korn*stilli* still*stróm* Strom*súbhari* schön*médhmo gistriuni* Kostbarkeit*swídhro* rechts*half* Seite*hand* Hand*gital* behend*fugal* Vogel (Glosse in P zu *lungar*)*torn* bitter*trahni* Thränen*unfódi* unersättlich*éld* Feuer*unskóni* unschön*fel* Haut*wallandi* wallend*fiur* Feuer*wánam* glänzend*hém* Heimat*westróni* westlich*wind* Wind

wīnistar link
hand Hand
wintarkald winterkalt
snéo Schnee
wlītiskōni leuchtend schön
werold Welt
wīf Weib

wōsti wüst
lund Land
stedi Stätte
wrisilik riesig
gīwerk Bau
wundan gewunden
gold Gold

β. Kleinere Denkmäler.

aharīn Aehren-
culmus
alaebhni flach
tectum
alswart ganz schwarz
equus
appulgrē gescheckt
equus
bīnitīn Binsen-
blak schwarz
atramentum
bláo blau
homo
vulnus
blas weissgestirnt
equus
blī farbig
aries
bodanbráwi triefäugig
bróðīn Brot
libum
brúnróð glanzrot
burglik städtisch
solum
dun schwarzbraun
equus
erðhag erdhaltig
aurum
érístlik ursprünglich
instrumentum
eskīn eschen
trubes

éttarag eiternd
vulnus
evenīn Hafer-
bróð Brot
falu fahlgelb
color
equus
vadum
fehulik Vieh-
piscina
fīorskutīg verschnitten
equus
 [ahd. *fisklih* zum Fiseus gehörig]
fitilfót ? weissfüssig?
equus
flat flach
cymba
fróno herrlich
tīns Zins
bipennis
fáht feucht
mentum
gerdīn Garten-
cultus
glaso Grauschimmel
equus
glesīn gläsern
godkunnīglik göttlich
liquor
gris grau
 [ahd. *heriberglih* Lager-]
porta

| | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>hêrlík</i> herrlich | <i>ôflík</i> bebaut |
| <i>avis</i> | <i>Africa</i> |
| <i>himilík</i> himmlisch | <i>quekilík</i> schwingbar |
| <i>Hierusalem</i> | <i>gladius</i> |
| <i>hol</i> hohl | [ahd. <i>richlich</i> reich] |
| <i>conclave</i> | <i>pomus</i> |
| <i>hráo</i> roh | <i>rókag</i> rauchig |
| <i>gersta</i> Gerste | <i>lares</i> |
| <i>hrélik</i> Toten- | <i>rómanisk</i> römisch |
| <i>domus</i> | <i>toga</i> |
| <i>textum</i> | <i>rósoli</i> rötlich |
| <i>hrídherin</i> Rinder- | <i>sanies</i> |
| <i>hrotttag</i> rotzig | <i>ruggin</i> Roggen- |
| <i>nares</i> | <i>bród</i> Brot |
| <i>hwass</i> scharf | <i>melo</i> Mehl |
| <i>lanugo</i> | <i>sinuvel</i> ganz rund |
| <i>regula</i> | <i>pelta</i> |
| <i>isarnín</i> eisern | [ahd. <i>sitelik</i> Sitten-] |
| <i>tectum</i> | <i>liber</i> |
| <i>klénlistig</i> sehr klug | <i>sliht</i> verziert |
| <i>avis?</i> | <i>tunica</i> |
| <i>koppodi</i> mit Kamm versehen | <i>snéig</i> schneeig |
| <i>draco</i> | <i>Pyrenaei</i> |
| [adh. <i>kouflih</i> , <i>firkouflih</i> , käuflich,
verkäuflich] | <i>spanandelik</i> verlockend |
| <i>krumb</i> krumm | <i>liber</i> |
| <i>mulier</i> | <i>sprútodi</i> gesprenkelt |
| <i>nares</i> | <i>equus</i> |
| <i>lebhindig</i> lebendig | <i>stekul</i> rauh |
| <i>stén</i> Stein | <i>iter?</i> |
| <i>lidharin</i> Leder- | <i>strúf</i> struppig |
| <i>flagrum</i> | <i>pilus</i> |
| <i>mapuldrin</i> ahornen | <i>cauda</i> |
| <i>trabs</i> | <i>tam</i> zahm |
| <i>solium</i> | <i>belua</i> |
| <i>missifaro</i> bunt | <i>trág(i)</i> träge |
| <i>nidherfellag</i> herabfallend | <i>pes</i> |
| <i>imber</i> | <i>twihóhðig</i> zweiköpfig |
| <i>nidhiri</i> Unter- | <i>tháhi</i> , <i>tháhin</i> irden |
| <i>labrum</i> | <i>murus</i> |
| <i>nutti</i> nützlich | <i>ras</i> |
| <i>obhoro</i> Ober- | <i>therbhi</i> ungesäuert |
| | <i>laganum</i> |

thrihendig dreihändig*thunni* dünn*ungimálód* unverziert
*parma**ungióvíd* ungepflegt
vestitus[ahd. *ungistrálit* ungekämmt]*unstark* schwach
caro
*virus**wahsblank* wachsfarben
*equus**widhamlik* Mitgift-
*Tyrius**wildi* wild
onuger
*volucris**wiribrán* kastanienbraun
equus
[ahd. *záhi* zähe]
nodus

81. — b. nur mit Bezeichnungen von lebenden Wesen, einschliesslich des Geisterreiches:

a. Heliand und Genesis.

adhalboran edelbürtig*alajung* ganz jung*al(ala-, alo)* *mahtig* allmächtig*aldiró* älter*alohél* ganz gesund*alowaldand*, *-waldo* allwaltend*anmód* sinnend*anthéti* verlobt*arm* arm*armhugdig* bekümmert*armskapan* unglücklich*bald* kühn*baluhugdig* Böses planend*barwirdhig* sehr würdig*blind* blind*blóðhi* zag*bókspáhi* gelehrt*dód* tot*dot*, *-mód* thöricht*égan* eigen*égrohtful* gnädig*eldiron* Eltern*elilandig*, *-lendi*, *-thiodig* ausländisch*elleanróf* kraftberühmt*énag* einzig*énhard* trotzig*énwordi* übereinstimmend*érthungan* ehrenwert*fagan* froh*fáh* wenig*fégi* dem Tode verfallen*filowis* sehr weise*fráh* froh*frilik* freigeboren*fród*, *gi-ód* erfahren*frókan*, *frókni* kühn*furdhron* Vorfahren*furisto* erst*galiléisk* galiläisch*gigamalód* gealtert*geginward* anwesend*gél*, *-hert*, *-mód* übermütig*gern* begierig*gódspráki* beredt, Gutes voraussagend*góðwillig* guten Willens*gram*, *-hard*, *-hert*, *-hugdig* feindlich*háf* an den Händen gelähmt*haft* gefangen*halt* lahm*hardmód(ig)* kühn*hatul* hassend*hédhin* heidnisch*hélugferah* heilig lebend*hénsitteandi* einheimisch*hér* vornehm*gihéród* erhaben*herugrim* schwertgrimm

gihórig gehorsam
hriuwigmód reuevoll
hrór rührig
hugiderbhi kriegerisch
irri kampfwild
jámarmód bekümmert
jung jung
kindisk kindlich
kindjung sehr jung
kristin christlich
lagulidhandi seebefahrend
lam lahm
bilamód gelähmt
bilang hilfreich
gilébhód gelähmt
léf gebrechlich
legarfast ans Lager gefesselt
lidhi mild
liof lieb
lofsálig lobbeglückt
lös los
lut wenig
mádmundi heiter
magujung jugendlich
malsk übermütig
giméd thöricht
méndädig, -ful, -hwat frevlerisch
midfiri in der Mitte des Lebens
 stehend
módag zornig
módkarag betrübt
módspáhi weise
módstark bösen Sinnes
munilik lieblich
ginádhig gnädig
nídhwat, -hugdig, nídhín feindselig
obarmód(ig) sich überhebend
ódag reich
ókan schwanger
reginblind ganz blind
riki mächtig
róf berühmt
sad satt
sálig selig
sámquik halbtot
séolidhandi seefahrend
séragnód betrübt
sídhwórig reisemüde

sikor sicher
siok krank
skard zerhauen
skuldig schuldig
slak feige
slídhmód(ig) Böses sinnend
slídhwurdi Böses redend
smal klein
snel kühn
sódhfast wahrhaft
starkmód tapfer
stridig streitbar
stum stumm
sundig sündig
sundilós sündenrein
swás blutsverwandt
fortald verurteilt
tóm, -i, -ig frei von
treuhaf treu
treulós treulos
triui, gi- treu
githigan erwachsen
thristmód verwegen
githungan gediegen
thurftig dürftig
thurhfremid vollkommen
ungilóbbig ungläubig
ungiwittig thöricht
unhiuri unheimlich
unhold feindlich
unskuldig unschuldig
unsundig sündenlos
unwam unbefleckt
unward unwandelbar
unwánlik hässlich
unwis unverständlich
wáglidhand wogenbefahrend
wánlik schön
wápanberand waffentragend
war vorsichtig
giwar gewahr
giwári wahrhaft
wárlós betrügerisch
wedarwis wetterkundig
giweldig mächtig
wékmód verzagt
widharmód, -ward feindlich
wigand kriegerisch, Krieger

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| <i>willig</i> willig | <i>wordspáhi</i> beredt |
| <i>wis</i> kundig (in relativer Bedeutung) | <i>wordwis</i> beredt |
| <i>wiskumo</i> gewiss kommend | <i>wópiandi</i> weinend |
| <i>wittig, gi-</i> verständig | <i>wréðhhugdig, -mód</i> zornig |
| <i>wlank</i> stolz | <i>wund</i> verwundet |
| <i>giwono</i> gewohnt | |

β. Genesis (Adjectiva, die nicht auch im Heliand vorkommen).

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>adhalburdig</i> edelbürtig | <i>godforaht</i> gottesfürchtig |
| <i>bar</i> bloss | <i>hebbanríki</i> himmelsmächtig |
| <i>drórwórag</i> verblutet | <i>stridin</i> streithaft |
| <i>fluhtig</i> flüchtig | <i>wamlós</i> makellos |
| <i>fréðhig</i> verbannt | <i>wórig</i> entkräftet |

γ. Kleinere Denkmäler

| | |
|--|--|
| [ahd. <i>absturnig</i> starrsinnig] | [ahd. <i>sitelós</i> sittenlos] |
| [ahd. <i>abtrunnig</i> abtrünnig] | <i>sniumi</i> eilig |
| <i>alsulik</i> ganz solch | <i>spáni</i> spanisch |
| <i>dumb</i> dumm | <i>giswási</i> verbündet |
| <i>éhaft</i> legitim | <i>tharlag</i> dürftig |
| <i>gastlómi</i> gastfrei | <i>thiudisk</i> deutsch |
| [ahd. <i>firiwizgern(ig)</i> neugierig] | <i>thurhthigen</i> vollkommen |
| <i>fravol</i> hartnäckig | <i>unbardoht</i> unbärtig |
| [adh. <i>frazor</i> hartnäckig] | <i>unfráh</i> traurig |
| [adh. <i>fréh</i> sparsam] | <i>ungihórsam</i> ungehorsam |
| <i>gerag</i> begierig | <i>ungiwar</i> ungewahr |
| <i>hatilín</i> verhasst | <i>unhiurlik</i> unheimlich |
| <i>hérilik</i> dem Herrn gehörig | <i>unkraftag</i> schwach |
| <i>hólodi</i> bruchleidend | <i>unwerdhig</i> sündhaft |
| <i>hovarodi</i> bucklig | <i>unwiglik</i> unkriegerisch |
| <i>inburdig</i> eingeboren | <i>unwitandi</i> unwissend |
| <i>judéisk</i> jüdisch | <i>wandalhúti</i> verschlagen |
| <i>késarlik</i> kaiserlich | <i>welag</i> reich |
| <i>mánudhhwilig, -wendig</i> mondsüchtig | <i>welmehtig</i> gesund |
| <i>ménfullig</i> verbreeherisch | <i>wittodi?</i> mit einer Kopfbindo versehen |
| <i>mishliumandig</i> berüchtigt | <i>wrénisk</i> geil |
| <i>missituhtig</i> zuchtlos | [ahd. <i>zagilîh</i> schläfrig] |
| <i>samwurdig</i> übereinstimmend | [ahd. <i>bizihtig</i> eifersüchtig] |

82.—2. Nur mit Abstracten verbinden sich die im folgenden gegebenen Adjectiva. Der Bequemlichkeit halber habe ich in diesem und dem nächstfolgenden Abschnitte da, wo sich das Adjectiv auf einen Satz bezieht, dafür gelegentlich *thing* (ähnlich in § 83 bei Bezug auf Personen, wo solche im Text als Pronomina erscheinen, ein *man*) eingesetzt.

a. Heliand und Genesis.

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>abhu</i> verkehrt | <i>éwan</i> , - <i>ín</i> ewig |
| <i>obharhugi</i> Ueberhebung | <i>ríki</i> Reich |
| <i>aldarlang</i> weltenlang | <i>fern</i> verflossen |
| <i>tír</i> Ruhm | <i>jár</i> Jahr |
| <i>alung</i> ewig | <i>finistar</i> finster |
| <i>tír</i> Ruhm | <i>forhtlik</i> furchtbar |
| <i>antlang</i> ganz lang | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>dag</i> Tag | <i>gifrági</i> berühmt |
| <i>arbhedsam</i> mühevoll | <i>werk</i> Werk |
| <i>ubhil</i> Uebel | <i>fráhmód</i> freudig |
| <i>armlik</i> jammervoll | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>dóðh</i> Tod | <i>frékni</i> kühn |
| <i>bar</i> offenbar | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>baluspraka</i> böse Rede | <i>géstlik</i> geistig |
| <i>berhtlik</i> glänzend | <i>líf</i> Leben |
| <i>bilidhi</i> Gleichnis | <i>harm</i> schmerzlich |
| <i>blidhlik</i> fröhlich | <i>herta</i> Herz |
| <i>bodskepi</i> Botschaft | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>dróðhi</i> trüb | <i>mód</i> Gemüt |
| <i>dag</i> Tag | <i>thing</i> Sache |
| <i>hugi</i> Sinn | <i>harmlik</i> leidvoll |
| <i>drugi</i> trügerisch | <i>thing</i> Sache |
| <i>thing</i> Ding | <i>hélaglik</i> heilig |
| <i>dunkar</i> dunkel | <i>ríki</i> Reich |
| <i>dag</i> Tag | <i>hetigrim</i> wild |
| <i>egislik</i> schrecklich | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>hét endi swart</i> Höllenfinsternis | <i>hungar</i> Hunger |
| <i>thing</i> Sache | <i>hlúd</i> laut |
| <i>endilós</i> unendlich | <i>gaman</i> Fröhlichkeit |
| <i>ubhil</i> Uebel | <i>hofna</i> Wehklage |
| <i>welo</i> Reichtum | <i>stemna</i> Stimme |
| <i>énwald</i> einträchtig | <i>holdlik</i> angenehm |
| <i>hugi</i> Sinn | <i>lón</i> Lohn |

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>horsk</i> klug | <i>séræg</i> traurig |
| <i>hugiskefti</i> Verstand | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>hré</i> wild | <i>slidhi</i> verderblich |
| <i>sebho</i> Gemüt | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>idal</i> eitel | <i>saka</i> Sache |
| <i>hróm</i> Prahlerei | <i>sundea</i> Sünde |
| <i>jámarlik</i> jammervoll | <i>sódh</i> wahr |
| <i>forgang</i> Hinscheiden | <i>weg</i> Weg |
| <i>kúdh</i> kund | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>forgang</i> Hinscheiden | <i>sódhlik</i> wahrhaft |
| <i>kuniburd</i> Herkunft | <i>spel</i> Botschaft |
| <i>gilang</i> bereit | <i>sómi</i> schicklich |
| <i>helpa</i> Hilfe | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>langsam</i> lange während | <i>spáhlík</i> weise |
| <i>leger</i> Krankenlager | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>lióht</i> Licht | <i>sumarlúg</i> sommerlang |
| <i>lón</i> Lohn | <i>dag</i> Tag |
| <i>rád</i> Gewinn | <i>sunk</i> schwank |
| <i>tédhlik</i> verhasst | <i>mód</i> Gemüt |
| <i>léra</i> Lehre | <i>swigli</i> glänzend |
| <i>lón, -geld</i> Lohn | <i>lióht</i> Licht |
| <i>luggi</i> lügnerisch | <i>tehnífold</i> zehnfach |
| <i>léra</i> Lehre | <i>lón</i> Lohn |
| <i>giwitskepi</i> Zeugnis | <i>torhtlik</i> glänzend |
| <i>lustsam</i> angenehm | <i>tékan</i> Zeichen |
| <i>léra</i> Lehre | <i>tóward</i> zukünftig |
| <i>máhtiglik</i> mächtig | <i>arbhedi</i> Mühsal |
| <i>bílidhi</i> Gleichnis | <i>tíd</i> Zeit |
| <i>tékan</i> Zeichen | <i>twíflí</i> zweifelnd |
| <i>managfald</i> mannigfaltig | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>lón</i> Lohn | <i>wisa</i> Weise |
| <i>méda</i> Vergeltung | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>márlík</i> berühmt | <i>thím</i> düster |
| <i>thing</i> Ding | <i>skado</i> Schatten |
| <i>gimédlík</i> thöricht | <i>thristi</i> verwegen |
| <i>word</i> Wort | <i>githáht</i> Gedanke |
| <i>sáliglik</i> selig | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>sebho</i> Gemüt | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>seldlik</i> wunderbar | <i>unbitharbhi</i> unnütz |
| <i>gisiumi</i> Anblick | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>thing</i> Ding | <i>unléstid</i> unerfüllt |
| <i>sér</i> schmerzlich | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>dád</i> That | <i>unódhi</i> schwer |
| <i>hugi</i> Sinn | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>mód</i> Gemüt | |

unreht unrecht
word Wort

wam böse
dād That

wan mangelnd
werk Werk

wand veränderlich
wisa Weise

wankol wankelmütig
hugi Sinn

wárfast wahrhaft
word Wort

warm warm
sumer Sommer

wék verzagt
hugi Sinn

wíðbréd weit ausgedehnt
welo Reichthum

wis gewiss
fridhu Friede

wislik weise
andwordi Antwort
word Wort

wódhi angenehm
thing Ding

wundarlik wunderbar
tékan Zeichen

b. Genesis (Adjectiva, die im Heliand fehlen).

gamlík frühlich
gang Gang

theganlik männlich
githáht Gedanke

c. Kleinere Denkmäler.

anagiboran angeboren
macula

afunstig missgünstig
invidia

gibógiandelík biegsam
sylogismus

giburilík geeignet
tempus

daghwilik täglich
praebenda

énstridig hartnäckig
audacia

erdhlik irdisch
dād That

flesklik fleischlich
fründlik freundlich
dictum

furhtwocerdh? fürchterlich
examen

grēblini graufarbig
nox

hóhilik lächerlich
hónlik schmählich
auctio

hringodi geringelt
tractus

karkarlik Kerker-
caecitas

kléni scharfsinnig
recessus
spiritus

gilumplik passend
urbanitas

mánudhlik monatlich
menstrua

methertiglik bescheiden
skernlik possenhaft
cavilla

spildi freigebig
fides

swáslik bürgerlich
discordia

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>bitékniandelik</i> bildlich | <i>anawáni</i> verdächtig |
| <i>tumig</i> listig | <i>fraus</i> |
| <i>fraus</i> | <i>werklik</i> geschäftig |
| <i>unurwániandelik</i> unvermutet | <i>devotio</i> |
| <i>unbiwandlóndelik</i> unveränderlich | <i>wistlik</i> zum Lebensunterhalt gehö- |
| <i>pax</i> | <i>rig</i> |
| <i>ungimet</i> unangemessen | <i>res ecclesiae</i> |
| <i>ungirimendi</i> unzählbar | <i>witag?</i> wissenswert |
| <i>unhréni</i> unrein | <i>widherwerdig</i> gegnerisch |
| <i>carmen funerale</i> | <i>wurmébétig</i> wurmstichig |
| | <i>retustas</i> |

83. — 3. Sowohl mit Concreten als auch mit Abstracten verbinden sich :

a. Heliand und Genesis.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ald</i> alt | <i>trahni</i> Thränen |
| <i>fader</i> Vater | <i>baludád</i> Uebelthat |
| <i>gumo</i> Mensch | <i>baluspráka</i> Schmährede |
| <i>idis</i> Weib | <i>briosthugi</i> Herzensgedanke |
| <i>man</i> Mann | <i>briostkara</i> Herzenskummer |
| <i>wif</i> Weib | <i>dád</i> That |
| <i>éo</i> Gesetz | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>andward</i> gegenwärtig | <i>githáht</i> Gedanke |
| <i>Gabriel</i> | <i>wráka</i> Rache |
| <i>egison</i> Schrecken | <i>blidhi</i> fröhlich |
| <i>berht</i> glänzend | <i>barn</i> Kind |
| <i>blómo</i> Blume | <i>anst</i> Gunst |
| <i>bókan</i> Zeichen | <i>gibodskepi</i> Botschaft |
| <i>bú</i> Bau | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>burg</i> Stadt | <i>bréd</i> breit, ausgedehnt |
| <i>drohtin</i> Herr | <i>berg</i> Berg |
| <i>sterro</i> Stern | <i>búland</i> bebautes Land |
| <i>sunna</i> Sonne | <i>burugugisetu</i> Burgsitz |
| <i>bilidhi</i> Gleichnis | <i>lógna</i> Lohé |
| <i>dag</i> Tag | <i>stráta</i> Strasse |
| <i>lióht</i> Licht | <i>water</i> Wasser |
| <i>lón</i> Lohn | <i>werold</i> Welt |
| <i>giskapu</i> Geschick | <i>balowíti</i> Höllenqual |
| <i>bittur</i> bitter | <i>givald</i> Gewalt |
| <i>bendi</i> Fesseln | <i>derbhi</i> feindselig |
| <i>fiur</i> Feuer | <i>liudi</i> Leute |
| <i>lógna</i> Lohé | <i>man</i> Mann |

dād That
thing Ding
word Wort
derni tüekisch
wiht Wicht

hugi Sinn
diop tief
water Wasser

dódh Tod
dódhes dalu Todesthal
githáht Gedanke
diurlik teuer
bodo Bote
dóperi Täufer
dibha Taube
fratah Zierat
médhmos Schätze
gisidh Genosse
suno Sohn
swét Schweiss
wif Weib

dróm Jubel
líf Leben
dages lióht Tageslicht
edhili edel
man Mann
thiorna Magd

spráka Sprache
énfald lauter, wahr
bról Brot
god Gott
korn Korn
man Mann

hugi Sinn
unrecht Unrecht
éwig ewig
fiur Feuer
kuning König

líf Leben
lióht Licht
riki Reich
fast fest
erdha Erde
felis Fels

folda Erde
water Wasser

hugi Sinn
mód Gemüt
word Wort
fékni hinterlistig
foliskepi Volk
Satanáses jungron Teufel
krúd Unkraut
wif Weib

hugi Sinn
word Wort
feraht verständig
man Mann

dād That
hugi Sinn
forht bange
man Mann

hugi Sinn
frómód frohgemut
folk Volk

hugi Sinn
fús bereit
man Mann

gést Geist
gibhidhig beschieden
erbhiward Erbe

fruma Vorteil
gladmód froh
gumo Mann

hugi Sinn
glau klug
gumo Mann

andwurdi Antwort
gól gut
Dávid
drohtin Herr
erl Edelmann
fader Vater
fiskari Fischer
fró Herr
gumo Mann

gumskepi Mannschaft
héliand Heiland
hérro Herr
idis Weib
Jóhannes
Jóseph
jungron Jünger
knósal Geschlecht
kunni Geschlecht
man Mann
Máriu
médhmos Schätze
méstar Meister
Pétrus
gisidh Genosse
suno Sohn
thegan Gefolgsman
thioda Volk
thiorna Magd
waldand Walter
wastum Frucht
wif Weib

ellian Kraft
godspell Evangelium
kraft Kraft
lióht Licht
gilóbho Glaube
mód Gemüt
rád Rat
spráka Rede
treuwa Treue
werk Werk
willeo Wille
word Wort
godkund gottentsprossen
gumo Mann

thing Ding
gódlík herrlich
alah Tempel
gard Feld
graf Grab
gumo Mann
hús Haus

stemna Stimme
grim grimmig
fiur Feuer

folk Volk
hellia Hölle
Judeon Juden
liudi Leute
lógna Lohe
thioda Volk

dád That
dódlí Tod
gérheti Speerfeindschaft
hugi Sinn
sebho Gemüt
thing Sache
werk Werk
grót gross
folk Volk
gumskepi Schar
olbhundeo Elephant
séo See
stén Stein

hungar Hunger
kraft Kraft
thing Sache
giewald Gewalt
hard hart
bóm Baum
felis Fels
heritogo Herzog
sper Speer
stén Stein
trio Baum
thorn Dorn

harmskara Kummer und Qual
helligithwing Höllepein
hugiskefti Sinn
mód Gemüt
strid Streit
hélag heilig
barn Kind
bodo Bote
drohtin Herr
engil Engel
fader Vater
folk Volk
god Gott
halsmeni Halsband
hand Hand

hebhankuning Himmelskönig
hebbanward Himmelswächter
hélcand Heiland
heriskepi Heerschaar
hiwiski Familie
hús Haus
Krist Christus
lík Leib
man Mann
péda Rock
stól Thron
suno Sohn
tunga Zunge
thiorna Magd
ward Wart

áðhom Atem, Geist
bílidhi Bild, Gleichnis
gibod Gebot
dag Tag
geld Vergeltung
gést Geist
héd Stand, Würde
helpa Hilfe
himilríki Himmelreich
kraft Kraft
léra Lehre
lióht Licht
giráni Geheimnis
sang Gesang
séola Seele
giskapu Geschick
stemna Stimme
tékan Zeichen
tíð Zeit
verk Werk
word Wort
hetilík feindselig
hardburi Obrigkeit

wíg Krieg
himilisk himmlisch
barn Kind
fader Vater
hérro Herr

giráni Geheimnis
word Wort
hluttar lauter

brunno Born
hrénkorni Korn
korn Korn
man Mann
thioda Volk
úðhia Woge
water Wasser

hugi Sinn
gilóðho Glaube
mód Gemüt
treuwa Treue
hold hold, zugethan
herirink Heeresmann
hérro Herr
skalk Knecht

treuwa Treue
hótierzürnt
Judeon Juden
weroldkuning Weltkönig

hugi Sinn
hriuwíg betrübt
man Mann
móðar Mutter

hugi Sinn
hwilik wie beschaffen, welch
barn Kind
folk Volk
gard Behausung
gumo Mann
idis Weib
irminman Mensch
kunni Geschlecht
land Land
liðh Glied
liudi Leute
liudskapi Volk
man Mann
tins Abgabe

arbhedi Mühsal
bílidhi Gleichnis
egison Schrecken
hugi Sinn
kraft Kraft
mód Gemüt
óðmóði Demut

reht Recht
saka Streit
tékan Zeichen]
gihwilik jeglich
akkar Acker
barn Kind
bóm Baum
burg Stadt
erl Edelmann
gumo Mann
kuning König
liudi Volk
man Mann
mankunni Menschheit
thiod Volk
wíf Weib

dag Tag
gód Gut
half Richtung
jár Jahr
morgan Morgen
namo Name
reht Recht
ubhil Uebel
welo Reichtum
word Wort
jámar jammervoll
líkhamo Körper

hugi Sinn
mód Gemüt
kraftag kräftig
drohtin Herr
fíond Feind
god Gott
knio Knie
Krist Christus
kráci Kreuz
kuniburd Geschlecht
kuning König
kunni Geschlecht
thiod Volk
wiht Wicht

kuningdóm Herrschaft
ríki Reich
lang lang, lange während
skaft Schaft
weg Weg

dag Tag
hwíla Weile
líf Leben
lón Lohn
naht Nacht
lári leer
stedi Stätte
sténfat Steingefäß

word Wort
lat träge, schwach
man Mann
sídu Lende

dag Tag (im Superlativ
the luzto dag)
lédh leidge, verhasst
lídh Trank
liudskepí Volk
man Mann
stedi Stätte
thiod Volk
wiht Wicht

dád That
gelpquidi Herausforderung
léra Lehre
gilésti That
spráka Rede
stríd Streit
thing Sache
weg Weg (geistig)
word Wort
gilik gleich
man Mann

werk Werk
word Wort
lioflík lieblich
blómo Blume
fruht Frucht

léra Lehre
lón Lohn
liht licht
sunna Sonne
wangon Wangen
wolkan Wolke

hugi Sinn
word Wort

lubbig willfährig
liudi Leute
thegan Diener

gilóbbho Glaube
lungar schnell
fugal Vogel
man Mann

gibáda Trost
luttill klein
barn Kind
man Mensch

fruma Nutzen
gilóbbho Glaube
tweho Zweifel
mahtig mächtig
barn godes Gottessohn
drohtin Herr
engil Engel
fader Vater
fiond Feind
god Gott
hérro Herr
Krist Christus
man Mensch
mundboro Schützer
sunu drohtines Gottessohn

giskapu Geschick
tékan Zeichen
thing Ding
word Wort

manag manch
barn Kind
engil Engel
ferkal Riegel
folk Volk
likhamo Körper
liudi Leute
liudfolk Volk
mankunni Menschheit
médhomhord Hort
thegan Gefolgsman
thioda Volk

arabhidwerk Mühsal
gibod Gebot
dag Tag

firinwerk Frevel
harmwerk Schaden
hoskword Hohnwort
hwila Stunde
legarbed Krankheit
lofword Lobeswort
lösword Schmähung
mahal Rede
ménwerk Verbrechen
spáhword weises Wort
spel Botschaft
stunda Stunde
torn Grimm
githwing Not
word Wort
mári glänzend, berühmt
berg Berg
burg Stadt
drohtin Herr
erdha Erde
god Gott
hús Haus
Krist Christus
man Mann
meginthiod grosses Volk
meginthiof Erzräuber
sunu Sohn
thegan Gefolgsman
thiod Volk
thiodan Herrscher

dag Tag
dómesdag Gerichtstag
lioht Licht
maht Macht
metodogiskapu Geschick
tékan Zeichen
tíd Zeit
thing Ding
mennisk menschlich
barn Kind

mód Gemüt
sidu Sitte
míddi mittel-, mittler-
fiund Feind
gimang Schar

dag Tag
mikil gross

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>ahaspring</i> Wasserquell | <i>môd, -selho</i> Gemüt |
| <i>druhtfolk</i> Volksschar | <i>mirki</i> grauenhaft |
| <i>êld</i> Feuer | <i>mênskadhô</i> schlimmer Schädiger |
| <i>folk</i> Volk | <i>dâd</i> That |
| <i>huarf werodes</i> Volksmenge | <i>mên</i> Verbrechen |
| <i>mankraft, werod</i> " | <i>mislik</i> verschieden |
| <i>meginfolk</i> " | <i>man</i> Mann |
| <i>menigi</i> " | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>Nilstrôm</i> Nil | <i>môdselho</i> Gemüt |
| <i>sink</i> Hort | <i>thing</i> Ding |
| <i>werod</i> Volk | <i>githwing</i> Bedrängnis |
| <i>wind</i> Wind | <i>naru</i> eng. bedrückend |
| <i>braht</i> Lärm | <i>gat</i> Thor |
| <i>fard</i> Zug | <i>naht</i> Nacht (Gen.) |
| <i>firinwerk</i> Frevel | <i>thing</i> Sache |
| <i>firiwit</i> Verstand | <i>ginôg</i> genügend |
| <i>foraht</i> Furcht | <i>fiund</i> Feind |
| <i>gelp</i> Holn | <i>mannokunni</i> Menschheit |
| <i>gihlunn</i> Getöse | <i>werod</i> Volk |
| <i>hlust</i> Aufmerksamkeit | <i>ôd</i> Reichtum |
| <i>inwid</i> Tücke | <i>sorga</i> Sorge |
| <i>kraft</i> Kraft | <i>welo</i> Reichtum |
| <i>lioht</i> Licht | <i>ôdan</i> bescheert |
| <i>gilôbbho</i> Glaube | <i>kind</i> Kind |
| <i>lôn</i> Lohn | <i>arbhedi</i> Mühsal |
| <i>maht</i> Macht | <i>ôdhar</i> ander |
| <i>meginfard</i> Heerfahrt | <i>burg</i> Stadt |
| <i>meginstrengi</i> gewaltige Macht | <i>erl</i> Edelmann |
| <i>môdkara</i> Kummer | <i>folk</i> Volk |
| <i>mordh</i> Mord | <i>gumo</i> Mann |
| <i>mordhquâla</i> Todesqual | <i>hâs</i> Haus |
| <i>niud</i> Verlangen | <i>idis</i> Weib |
| <i>têkan</i> Zeichen | <i>Jâkob</i> |
| <i>tharf</i> Bedarf | <i>Judeon</i> Juden |
| <i>githwing</i> Not | <i>kuning</i> König |
| <i>werk</i> Werk | <i>kunni</i> Geschlecht |
| <i>willeo</i> Wille | <i>lindi</i> Leute |
| <i>wilspel</i> frohe Kunde | <i>man</i> Mann |
| <i>giwin</i> Kampf | <i>sida</i> Seite |
| <i>giwit</i> Verstand | <i>stên</i> Stein |
| <i>word</i> Wort | <i>thiod</i> Volk |
| <i>wundar</i> Wunder | <i>thiof</i> Dieb |
| <i>mildi</i> mild | <i>weg</i> Weg |
| <i>god</i> Gott | <i>werod</i> Volk |
| <i>mêdhomgebbho</i> Kleinodspender | |
| <i>mundboro</i> Schützer | |
| <i>hugi</i> Sinn | |

dag Tag
frésna Gefahr
lioht Licht
namo Name
rád Rat
óðharlik anders
giwáði Gewand

andbári Aussehen
wliti Aussehen
óðhi leicht
weg Weg

thing Ding
opan offen
hellia Hölle
ógun Augen

éwig líf ewiges Leben
lioht Licht
urlagi Verderben
word Wort
skín sichtbar, offenbar
stedi Stätte

bilidhi Gleichnis
thing Ding
skóni schön
berg Berg
fri Weib
idis Weib
land Land
lik Körper
wif Weib

giburd Geburt
lioht Licht
weder Wetter
spáhi klug
man Mann

hugi Sinn
spel Kunde
word Wort
stark stark
felis Fels
man Mann
stén Stein
stráta Strasse

édh Eid
hugi Sinn
mód Gemüt
stemna Stimme
strid Streit
strang stark
barn Menschenkind
kuning König

stemna Stimme
wánami Glanz
sulik solch
barn Kind
bókan Zeichen
fisk Fisch
folk, -skepi Volk
gambra Abgabe
himiltungal Himmelszeichen
lógn Lohe
man Mann
menigi Menge
gisídh Genosse
giwáði Kleid
werod Volk

ambahtskepi Dienst
bóta Busse
dád That
gidél Teilung
diuridha Preis
egison Schrecken
firinguála grosse Qual
firinguidi, -spráka vermessene
 Rede
frunna Vorteil
gebha Gabe
gód Gut
harm Schaden
gihlunn Getöse
hord verborgener Gedanke
huld Huld
inwid Feindschaft
léra Lehre
gilóbho Glaube
lón Lohn
lugina Lüge
megin Macht
mén Frevel

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>minnea</i> Liebe | <i>édh</i> Eid |
| <i>mordh</i> Mord | <i>kraft</i> Kraft |
| <i>nídh</i> Hass | <i>reganogiskapu</i> Geschick |
| <i>ód</i> Reichtum | <i>súndia</i> Sünde |
| <i>ódmódi</i> Demut | <i>wánami</i> Glanz |
| <i>pína</i> Pein | <i>swóti</i> süß |
| <i>qualm</i> Qual | <i>brunno</i> Born |
| <i>quidi</i> Sprache | <i>léra</i> Lehre |
| <i>sáldha</i> Seligkeit | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>sorga</i> Sorge | <i>bitengi</i> nahe heranreichend |
| <i>spel</i> Botschaft | <i>Sutanás</i> |
| <i>suht</i> Krankheit | <i>skion</i> Wolkendecke |
| <i>súnda</i> Sünde | <i>gítlunn</i> Getöse |
| <i>githáht</i> Gedanke | <i>torht</i> glanzvoll |
| <i>tharf</i> Bedürfnis | <i>tungol</i> Himmelskörper |
| <i>thing</i> Ding | <i>tékan</i> Zeichen |
| <i>wah</i> Wehe | <i>tíd</i> Zeit |
| <i>giwald</i> Gewalt | <i>thikki</i> dick, dicht |
| <i>wastom</i> Wachstum | <i>thorn</i> Dorn |
| <i>werk</i> Werk | <i>thiustri</i> Finsternis |
| <i>willeo</i> Wille, Freudenbotschaft | <i>thiustri</i> düster |
| <i>wilspel</i> Freudenkunde | <i>dal</i> Thal |
| <i>giwit</i> Verstand | <i>helliegithwing</i> Höllenpein |
| <i>witi</i> Strafe | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>word</i> Wort | <i>naht</i> Nacht |
| <i>wúndar</i> Wunder | <i>skado</i> Schatten |
| <i>gisund</i> gesund, heil | <i>ubhil</i> übel, schlecht |
| <i>folk</i> Volk | <i>fisk</i> Fisch |
| <i>land</i> Land | <i>man</i> Mann |
| <i>man</i> Mann | <i>arbhedi</i> Drangsal |
| <i>séola</i> Seele | <i>dád</i> That |
| <i>swári</i> schwer | <i>werk</i> Werk |
| <i>balto</i> Balken | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>suht</i> Krankheit | <i>unswóti</i> unangenehm |
| <i>súnda</i> Sünde | <i>ekid</i> Essig |
| <i>swart</i> schwarz | <i>galla</i> Galle |
| <i>hár</i> Haar | <i>swék</i> Geruch |
| <i>hel</i> Hölle | <i>wár</i> wahr |
| <i>lógna</i> Lohe | <i>Krist</i> Christus |
| <i>naht</i> Nacht | <i>drohtines, wáldandes sunu</i> Gottes- |
| <i>sinnahti</i> tiefe Nacht | <i>sohn</i> |
| <i>swáhi</i> stark | <i>quidi</i> Rede |
| <i>half</i> Seite | <i>sódhspel</i> Botschaft |
| <i>hand</i> Hand | |
| <i>stróm</i> Strom | |

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>thing</i> Ding | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>giwitskepi</i> Zeugnis | <i>wordquidi</i> Rede |
| <i>word</i> Wort | <i>wlitig</i> glänzend |
| <i>wordtēkan</i> Wortzeichen | <i>wangun</i> Wangen |
| <i>werdh</i> wert | <i>wif</i> Weib |
| <i>drohtin</i> Herr | |
| <i>dād</i> That | <i>liokt</i> Licht |
| <i>fruma</i> Vorteil | <i>wrēdh</i> kummervoll, zornig |
| <i>wid</i> weit | <i>godfader</i> Gott Vater |
| <i>riki</i> Reich | <i>liudi</i> Leute |
| <i>strāta</i> Strasse | <i>man</i> Mann |
| <i>wāg</i> Woge | <i>thioda</i> Volk |
| <i>weg</i> Weg | <i>wāpanberand</i> Waffenträger |
| <i>welo</i> Reichtum | <i>werod</i> Volk |
| <i>werold</i> Welt | <i>wilharsako</i> Widersacher |
| <i>weroldstōl</i> Weltherrschaft | <i>wiht</i> Wicht |
| <i>weroldwelo</i> irdischer Besitz | |
| <i>wrāksīdh</i> Verbannung | <i>dād</i> That |
| <i>wirdhig</i> würdig, wert | <i>hugi</i> Sinn |
| <i>gold</i> Gold | <i>sundea</i> Sünde |
| <i>man</i> Mann | <i>werk</i> Werk |
| <i>silubhar</i> Silber | <i>willeo</i> Wille |
| <i>wurhtio</i> Arbeiter | <i>giwitskepi</i> Zeugnis |
| <i>word</i> Wort | <i>word</i> Wort |
| <i>wīs</i> weise (in absoluter Bedeutung;
vgl. § 81, b, α) | <i>wurdigiskapu</i> Geschick |
| <i>barn</i> Menschenkind | <i>giwurht</i> Handlung |
| <i>engil</i> Engel | <i>wunsam</i> wonnig |
| <i>man</i> Mann | <i>giwādi</i> Gewand |
| <i>wārsago</i> Prophet | <i>wastum</i> Pflanze |
| <i>sprāka</i> Sprache | <i>icif</i> Weib |
| <i>treuwa</i> Treue | <i>sumer</i> Sommer |
| | <i>weder</i> Wetter |
| | <i>welo</i> Reichtum |
| | <i>word</i> Wort |

b. Kleinere Denkmäler

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>ebhan</i> , eben, deutlich | <i>morbus</i> |
| <i>tectum</i> | <i>gihāvid</i> gelähmt |
| <i>ius</i> | <i>manus</i> |
| <i>ēgan</i> eigen | <i>ordo</i> |
| <i>cespes</i> | <i>gimēni</i> gemein, gemeinsam |
| <i>filius</i> | <i>discipulus</i> |
| <i>mors</i> | <i>elcomosyne</i> |
| <i>gelo</i> gelb | <i>vita</i> |
| <i>wurm</i> (Hel.) Schlange | <i>stōri</i> berühmt |
| <i>color</i> | <i>homo</i> |
| | <i>lingua</i> |

84. Ganz und gar zweifelhaft ist die Beziehung folgender Adjectiva in den Kleineren Denkmälern:

[ahd. *abskelli* absurd]

frónisk herrlich

[ahd. *gamanlih* lächerlich]

bigangandelik feierlich

guldi ? gefrässig

halfdiorig halbtierisch

[ahd. *hólohter* schwerfällig]

gilófsam glaublich

[ahd. *unerwendet* 'inconvulsum']

ungimuk feindlich

[*giziughaft* ausgestattet]

85. Besondere Beachtung verdienen in obigen Zusammenstellungen die *lik*-Composita. Im Heliand verbindet sich die Mehrheit derselben nur mit Abstracten. Nicht ausschliesslich neben Abstracten, sondern auch neben Concreten stehen *diurlík*, *frílik*, *gôdlik*, *hwilik*, *gihwilik*, *líhtlik*, *lioflik*, *mislík*, *sulík*, *wánlik*, *wrisilik*. Einzelne derselben lassen Bahuvrīhi-Composition mit *lik* 'Körper' zu; die andern sowie alle bei Abstracten gebrauchten ertragen die von Wilmanns II 361,1 und oben § 43 angesetzte Deutung. In den Kleineren Denkmälern hat sich das Verhältniss schon ein wenig zu gunsten der Concreta verschoben; mit diesen verbinden sich *burglík*, *éristlik*, *godkunniglik*, [ahd. *heriberglíh*], *hérlik*, *himilik*, *hrélik*, [ahd. *kouflih*, *firkouflih*], *óflík*, [ahd. *ríhlih*], *spanandelík*, *unhiurlík*, *widhumlík*; die Hälfte derselben entstammen den Prudentiusglossen.

Ein ähnliches Verhältniss herrscht bei den *sam*-Composita; ausser *lofsam*, *ungihôrsam*, *wunsam* verbinden sich alle nur mit Abstracten.

86. Welche Adjectiva sich mit einem gegebenen Substantiv verbinden, hätte eine Wortlehre des Substantivs zu untersuchen. Auch die Stilistik des Altsächsischen hätte sich, freilich von anderm Gesichtspunkt, damit zu befassen.

Ins Gebiet der Stilistik, und nicht in das der Grammatik, gehört auch die Darstellung der Synonymik. Für die Synonymik des Heliand im besondern ist hier nur auf Sievers' Ausgabe, Anhang S. 391—464, zu verweisen. Wenn die im Eingang erwähnte Arbeit über das Adjectiv als stilistisches Hilfsmittel im Altsächsischen ausgeführt wird, soll die Synonymik daselbst den ihr gebührenden Platz finden.



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ANM. Die alphabetische Anordnung, die im Texte und in den Listen §§80-84 nur die Stammsilben betrifft, erstreckt sich im folgenden Verzeichnis auch auf die Vorsilben (so dass also *bilumôd* unter *b*, nicht unter *l* zu suchen ist). *bh* folgt jeweils hinter *b*, *dh* hinter *d*, *th* nach *t*. Die Normalisierung, die durch Versehen im Texte mehrfach unterblieben ist, habe ich hier ganz durchgeführt; so steht hier durchweg *bh* statt *v*; die betreffenden Belege mögen demgemäss verbessert werden. Auch sonst habe ich mir im Wortverzeichnis einige kleineren Verbesserungen und Nachträge einzufügen erlaubt; eine genaue Liste aller Auslassungen und Berichtigungen soll der zweite Teil der Arbeit bringen. — Aufgenommen sind im Wortindex nur Adjectiva und zwar nur die altsächsischen, sowie die althochdeutschen der Texte.

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BERICHTIGUNGEN

wo nicht schon eingetragen sind an folgenden Stellen vorzunehmen:

S. 345, und 349 oben, Adjectils, l. Adjectivs.

S. 348, §13, 2, *purvás*, l. *purvás*.

S. 349, §14, 2, *hyrr*, l. *hýrr*.

S. 350, §14, 4, und, l. und.

§14, 6, *fæge*, l. *fæge*.

S. 353, §19, 2, *vænn*, l. *vænn*.

S. 354, §21, *pl-no*, l. *pl-no*.

§22, *fæcne*, l. *fæcne*.

S. 358, §28 b, *s-nt*, l. *s-nt*.

S. 360, §33, 2, *wæne*, l. *wæne*.

S. 361, §34, *altfader*, l. *altfader*.

S. 367, Z. 9 v. u., Eigenschaiten, l. Eigenschaften.

S. 369, §45, *vænn*, l. *vænn*.

S. 373, §52 A, *wah*, l. *wáh*.

S. 392, §74, 5, Eigenschat, l. Eigenschaft.

S. 400, Sp. 1, *mádmundi*, l. *mádmundi*.

obarmódig, l. *obharmódig*.

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